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Letter to the Middle Class

THE PRESENT EPIDEMIC of strikes has interfered with the domestic economy of the United States more seriously than ever before in our history. As these words are written, people in New York City, for example, are unable to use Western Union or the long-distance telephone. Many other communities have suffered partial interruption of telephone service. Because of the General Motors and other strikes, production of automobiles is far below what it was expected to be. Seattle has lately been reported without public transportation, newspapers or telephone service except dial instruments. If the threatened steel strike takes place, it will slow down or stop operations in dozens of other industries for which steel is a basic raw material. The strike in the Chicago meat-packing industry may force much of the United States to a sudden involuntary vegetarian diet. And so on.

The first reaction of the middle class, so far as we have been able to observe it, has been one of sharp anger with labor. This is an old familiar phenomenon in all serious strikes; it is usually reflected on the floor of Congress in proposals to compel workers to stay on the job, which again is usually followed by the sobering second thought that "you can't mine coal"—or make steel or automobiles—"with bayonets." This time, however, there is an added element of indignation. Editorial writers on conservative newspapers, and columnists like Westbrook Pegler, have persuaded the country that the General Motors strikers were demanding fantastic wage scales on the simple ground that their employer happens to have enough money to pay these scales, at least temporarily. Elaborate analogies have been drawn, in which the milkman asks to see your bank account before setting the price on a quart of milk, or a liquor dealer goes through the purse of a would-be customer.

There is, to be sure, a large amount of continuing and bitter anti-union sentiment in this country, which includes some very large employers. This group would not like organized labor under any circumstances—unless of course its leaders sold out to management and betrayed the rank and file. Those who hold this point of view are about where British employers were in 1870, and perhaps all you can do about them is to hope that with the passage of time they may come to a more reasonable point of view, as in fact the British did about forty years ago.

To those not in this irreconcilable category, a few words may be said. First of all, every sensible trade unionist, and sympathizer with trade unions, bitterly deplores all strikes, and especially those which seriously interfere with production. It is shocking that we should be forced to settle our industrial disputes by what amounts to open warfare, with each side trying to freeze the other out. It is wrong, however, to lay the whole onus of strikes on the workers. As a rule they have more to lose from a strike than does the employer, and especially at this moment, when the government

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guarantees its profits to industry whether the machines operate or stand idle. Strike benefits paid from the union treasury are never so large as the wages which are forgone, and are often completely lacking. It's no fun to stand on a picket line. Every reputable union, and this includes the overwhelming majority of all unions, does everything it possibly can to come to agreement without resort to force.

As for the theory that unions today are demanding inordinate wages merely because profits in wartime—even after taxes—have been outrageously high, this is a malicious falsehood. The General Motors strikers are asking only the same take-home pay they had last June and July, without the necessity of working the exhausting long week which they experienced during the war and largely for patriotic reasons. The average annual wage of these highly skilled men is only slightly above the official government figure for the minimum required to bring up a family decently in the Detroit area. And it is also literally and strictly true that these strikers have been fighting the battle for all the rest of us. If the employers get their way, they will reduce mass purchasing power to an extent that will make a bad depression inevitable within two or three years. Labor is helping to protect these economically illiterate corporation executives from the ruinous effects of their own ignorance.

Strikes nowadays interfere more seriously with the public than most of them used to do, just for the reason that both corporations and unions are bigger than they once were. But the first of these facts is something for which unions are not responsible, and the second is both inevitable and desirable. The public is not entitled to draw a moral distinction between a small strike and a big one merely because a big one interferes more sharply with its comfort.

It is obvious that we must do away with strikes before we can pretend to call ourselves a civilized society. But we cannot and must not seek to end them by refusing to look at all the facts, by failing to put his just share of blame on the employer or—as is so often the case—by declining to take the trouble to think the matter through from labor's viewpoint as well as that of the middle class.

A hundred years ago, unorganized workers, including children of six or seven, worked from dawn until dark for barely enough money to keep body and soul together. Nearly every gain since then has come through organization, accompanied by strikes or the threat of strikes. We owe our standard of living, by far the highest in the world, primarily to a series of strikes, every one of which was doubtless denounced at the time in the press and by "right-thinking" members of the middle class. If today's strikes annoy you, you might well reflect as to whether you were in favor a few years ago of child labor and the twelve-hour day in steel.

Power Blocs in the UNO

The first few days of UNO demonstrated what all realistic observers had expected. There appeared in the Assembly three blocs of nations, controlled respectively by the United States, Great Britain and Russia. Seats on the Security Council were distributed on a geographical basis with deference to these three blocs. By the fourth day, correspondents in London said that the smaller nations were beginning to get over their fear of the veto power of the Big Three in the Security Council, since it was so apparent that the Big Three were unlikely to agree on anything which is to the disadvantage of these smaller powers, and were in fact competing for their support in the Assembly.

The other highlight of the opening days was the resolute refusal of Britain and America to allow the Russian delegation to hold up successive important votes by 24 or 48 hours while they obtained fresh instructions from Moscow. Anything which deepens the gulf between the USSR and the other chief powers is regrettable; but on the other hand, the Russian policy, which had been exhibited at San Francisco and other places, creates almost intolerable delays. There seems no real reason why the Soviet government could not brief its delegates thoroughly in advance and then settle day-to-day details on the long-distance telephone.

If the development of great-power blocs in UNO was to be expected, it is none the less dangerous. Unless it is ultimately checked, it will destroy the organization and prepare the ground for a new world war. The only hope is that under the influence of UNO itself, and spurred on by the grim prospect that the next war will have the atomic bomb as its chief weapon, the nations of the world may before it is too late come to make a living reality of the fine sentiments of Mr. Attlee, quoted by Michael Young on page 83 of this issue.

The Truce in China

The news from China is so good, on its face, that experienced watchers of the Orient will feel caution is necessary regarding it. We do not know what pressure the United States put on Chiang Kai-shek to force him into a truce with the communists; but we can guess, from President Truman's statement just before Christmas, what was said. In that statement the President threatened to withdraw our aid from Chiang unless the civil war were halted. On the other hand, he promised extensive assistance to a peaceful China in the huge task of reconstruction and development which lies ahead. Only time will tell how much reality lies behind the sudden new enthusiasm of the central government for civil liberties, including the free functioning of other parties than the Kuomintang. Even after the truce was supposed to be in effect, some

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Chinese communists complained they were still being attacked, which may or may not have been the result of inadequate communications with Chiang's troops in the field. And, of course, a host of problems will still confront China even if she has a unified and more democratic government—problems of industrialization, transportation, communication, poverty, illiteracy, the control of foreign capital. Watch China—and keep your fingers crossed.

Congress at Work

Congress is back on the job, and it will soon be possible to judge how much change President Truman's appeal to the people made in its attitude toward his program. Returning congressmen report no tremendous popular demonstrations following the President's speech, but they don't discount the results which Truman's new approach could bring. The first clues to any immediate shifts will come on the full-employment bill, the labor fact-finding proposal and the extension of the United States Employment Service. Conferences between the House and the Senate will determine the final form of the full-employment bill. For the President to get his requested Senate version of the bill, all of the middle-of-the-road conferees will have to decide to support him. Representatives Manasco (D, Ala.), Whittington (D, Miss.) and Hoffman (R, Mich.) can be relied on to stand firm in conference committee for the meaningless House version.

Now it will be up to President Truman again. He has another big chance in his State of the Union address to Congress, and still another in his budget message which will follow. The radio can be used as a method of direct reporting and appeal as often as the President wishes. He will be wise to use it often in the months ahead. The kind of public support needed to push a reasonably adequate program through Congress will not come to Mr. Truman unless he clearly demonstrates his respect for and his need of it.

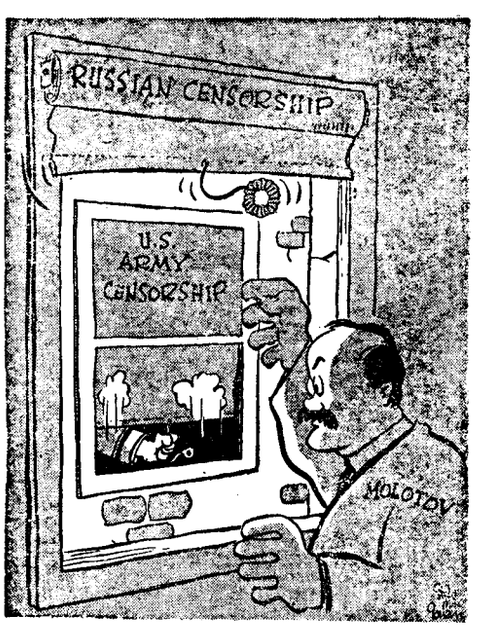
Civil Rights v. Property

The United States Supreme Court, in a little-noticed majority opinion by Mr. Justice Black, recently took another long step toward the permanent safeguarding of our democratic rights. The Court ruled that a member of Jehovah's Witnesses was within her rights in distributing religious literature on the sidewalk of a company town in Mobile County, Alabama, and not liable to arrest for trespassing on private property. Justices Burton, Reed and Stone dissented on the ground that the Constitution does not guarantee the right to remain on private property against the will of the owner merely because the invader is on religious business. Black wisely and lucidly pointed out that a company town is not ordinary private premises, that the facilities of such communities serve the same public purposes as in a normal town, and that the residents of the town are entitled to the same constitutional rights as other Americans.

This case marks a great victory for labor, in that it is the first time that property rights have not been held to be all-controlling in a company town. The mistreatment which union organizers customarily endured in dozens of company towns in the early thirties could have been attacked directly had this decision been written into law at that time. Now, even if the Wagner Labor Relations Act, with its guarantees, were to be repealed under some future reactionary regime, labor's rights are protected—and by the Constitution, not merely by statute.

A National Employment Service

A first order of congressional business will now be to decide whether or not to continue our present integrated national system of public employment offices under federal operation another eighteen months as President Truman has requested. It was only a sharply worded presidential veto that blocked Congress in the last session from breaking the national system up into 51 separate state and territorial services, in the midst of industrial reconversion. Hearings have now begun on H. R. 4437 to continue federal operation of USES until June 30, 1947, and to give the Secretary of Labor authority to operate local employment offices within a state when that state refuses to comply with standards set up under the Wagner Employment Act of 1933. Uniform standards in policy, regulations and procedures are absolutely essential tools for full employment nationally, and they are impossible under independent state administrators subject to the whims of 48 sets of state politicos. Return of the Service to state operation now would produce as much confusion as exists in the



Stan MacGovern in the New York Post

Hi, Neighbor

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administration of unemployment compensation, where the variety and complexity of procedures are usually unintelligible to the unemployed worker. Strongest pressure against extending USES comes from the state administrators of unemployment compensation, who receive their major support from employers concerned about the size of their unemployment-tax payments. The latter have been promised that, under state operation, workers will be cut off from unemployment benefits if they refuse to take jobs, regardless of the wages or the working conditions. The states'-rights lobbyists against a federal system, also, are more than usually militant now, in an election year when the patronage benefits to be derived from the control of 23,000 Employment Service jobs loom large.

Pourboire for the Professor, Too

The National Tax Equity Association is conducting an essay-writing contest among college students of the rank of juniors or better. The subject is to be "The Tax Privilege of Public Corporations and Coöperatives, and Its Impact on Private Enterprise," and it is a very safe bet that the National Tax Equity Association wants the tax-exempt status of coöperatives abolished. The first prize is $750 or an equivalent payment of college tuition, and there are second and third prizes of $300 and $100. The new twist in this competition, at least to us, is that there are also prizes for three college professors who, presumably, have acted as guide, philosopher and friend for the three student winners. The faculty member who guided the first-prize man gets $100, and the others, $75 and $50. The prize-giving Association is obviously none too sure that either students or faculty, unprompted, would see the horrors of leaving coöperatives tax exempt. Ergo, they make it worth the professor's while to look into the matter, come to "the right" point of view, and pass on that point of view to some impecunious student with a facile pen. What does the American Association of University Professors have to say about this precious enterprise?

British Rations

Many Americans seem to find it hard to realize that the British are in a grave economic dilemma because of the financial sacrifices they made during the war, when they cashed in three-quarters of their overseas investments to pay for munitions and food. Because they are so short of foreign credits with which to finance imports, the food ration in the United Kingdom is at present more limited than at any time during the war. Two weeks ago, it was announced that the course for the annual Oxford-Cambridge boat race was to be cut this year from about three miles to less than one, on the ground that the crews, forced to train on the standard ration, won't have the stamina for the longer distance. A hardy vegetarian like Bernard Shaw—or a rice-fed rickshaw coolie in China—might smile at the notion that you need roast beef, and plenty of it, for endurance; yet no one can doubt that the British people as a whole are getting just about the minimum amount of food they need to keep going. Their plight would seem much worse than it does were it not for the presence of real starvation, and plenty of it, just across the Channel in Europe.

Starvation Isn't News

A college professor just back from Rome says there is danger that as many as one in six of the Roman population will die needlessly this winter from hunger and exposure. The official United States Army estimate for the whole number of deaths in Europe is a possible total of five million. In certain areas where hunger is most severe, it is reported that 60 percent of the children under one year have active tuberculosis. These items of news are printed in the American press, but obscurely as a rule. Nobody seems to get very much excited about them. Even to get the American Congress to live up to its pledged obligation as to UNRRA appropriations takes months of desperate prodding. Starvation isn't news, any more.

How Britain Takes the Loan

As ISOLATIONIST members of Congress prepare to argue that the United States has been far too generous to Britain in the new financial agreement, the prevailing reaction of the British is, as the *Economist* writes, that it is "a bitter pill to swallow," that there is "no real option but to accept the American offer," but "We are not compelled to say that we like it. . . . Ministers will no doubt be polite and Members of Parliament (or most of them) will be restrained. But there can be no hiding the fact that the agreement will be accepted with a poor grace, under compulsion of the circumstances and against our better judgment. . . . It would be hard to find an Englishman who did not think that advantage had been taken of his country's honorable extremity to drive a very hard bargain. . . . In moral terms we are creditors; and for that we shall pay $140 million a year for the rest of the century. It may be unavoidable; but it is not right."

Not all Britons agree with the *Economist*; some Tories contend, with those on the extreme Left, that an alternative does exist and should have been chosen. Many Conservatives, following Winston Churchill, abstained from voting on the measure because, if they had voted, they would have voted against it. There are more thoughtful Englishmen than would appear from public comments who on the whole welcome the general lines of economic policy with which the loan was tied. But the *Economist* has well expressed the emotional background against which the proposal was almost universally received.

It all started with President Truman's incontinent

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and ill advised termination of lend-lease immediately after V-J Day. For no other purpose was the war legally considered at an end or its controls abolished overnight. Conscription stood; domestic economic regulation was retained, and modified in application only as careful counsel dictated.

How could the continued need of lend-lease shipments have been reasonably denied? British manpower and shipping were still scattered over the world and large parts of them would be required for months more in bringing war activities to an end. British industry was far from ready to produce the exports which would be needed to pay for the essential imports as soon as lend-lease ceased to operate, even if payment for these exports could have been arranged and transportation for them had been available. British foreign credit had been stretched far beyond its peacetime limits. Lend-lease rested on an agreement; it was unilaterally terminated. While Britain had been warned that it would end when the "war was over," everyone had expected a breathing spell and a careful preparation for the consequences.

Instead, British representatives had to come scurrying across the Atlantic in the role of suppliants. They had to ask for a grant, and experience refusal. This was a blow to the pride of one of the proudest nations on earth. It was also an outrage to their sense of right. For the lend-lease bargain, as they understood it, had been a matter of mutual advantage, for which they paid more heavily than we. We paid money and goods. They paid as much money and goods as they could spare, the temporary loss of their foreign trade (which, by agreement, was suppressed so that they could devote everything to war) and the blood of their young men, the sweat and tears of their civil population, while we made a belated effort to prepare to resist the common assailant. In the end we paid in blood, too. But, in proportion to our physical and human resources, our sacrifice was far less.

Many on the Left have been less restrained in their comments on the loan than the *Economist*. Edward Thompson writes to the *New Statesman*, "In this last tragic week, more of the deep and admiring friendship our people lately found for the American people has been destroyed than will soon be built up." The acceptance of the agreement by the House of Commons he calls "the worst betrayal that socialism has suffered since Ramsay MacDonald made his deal with the Tories." The *Tribune*, an outspoken voice of the Labor Party extreme Left, calls the loan, Bretton Woods, etc., all "these abominable agreements," says, "If the American Congress or our own distinguished liberal economists expect that these monstrous arrangements will be fulfilled by Socialist Britain, we can only ask them, as others have been asked before: 'What sort of people do they think we are?' " and concludes, "The agreement of December, 1945, will rank with the Combination Laws of 1799 and 1800. Now, as then, the rich are attempting to outlaw coöperation among the poor. . . . It will not stand, and should not stand, because the smaller nations of the world cannot live by it. The decision taken this week cannot be a final one."

It is easy for American progressives who know the facts to understand the emotional background which gives rise to such declarations. But the question arises, what are we to do now? Our isolationists and Anglophobes are using the British attitude as a reason for defeating the agreement in Congress. Senator Brooks of Illinois and commentators for the Hearst press are saying that Britain does not want the loan, Bretton Woods or the trade agreement, and that she has plainly told us that she cannot fulfill their terms. Why should we force them on her? Are the friends of Britain, and the American believers in full employment, international coöperation and an expanding world economy, to join the isolationists in killing the whole business? What would be the consequences? Is this texture of negotiated understandings really as bad as our British friends say, admitting that it is at best not so good as it ought to be?

On such points there is little unanimity in British opinion. The *Economist* argues that the prospects for expanding British exports by the necessary amount within the allotted time are exceedingly poor, even with the loan to tide over the emergency. The *Tribune* argues not only that such counsels of despair are ill founded, but even that the loan is unnecessary in the immediate future. "No reasoned case," it states, "has been made out so far for the extreme statements about the 'hardships and privations' which the people of this country would have to endure if they refused to sell their economic future—to use Mr. Boothby's phrase—'for a packet of cigarettes.' " Yet Lord Keynes defends the agreement in the House of Lords—both its financial provisions and the plans for foreign trade tied to it. The Tories object because a promise is made to end Imperial Preference, while the Socialist planners reject imperialism and say that the agreement interferes with Socialist planning in the international field.

We beg our British friends to devote a more careful, a more candid and a more detailed consideration to the possibility of making the agreement work, as well as to the consequences of its rejection. Keynes is still a shrewd and prophetic economist, though by no means a doctrinaire Socialist. "I am hopeful," he said, "that the various qualifications which have been introduced, the full significance of which cannot be obvious except to experts, may allow in practice a workable compromise between the certainty they [the Americans] wanted and the measure of elasticity we wanted."

First, what are the redeeming features of the loan itself? While the total is less than the British hoped for, it ought to be sufficient, with the likelihood of a

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supplement from Canada, to tide over the six years for which no payments are to be made because of prospective adverse balances. The whole of the lend-lease "debt" is canceled by executive action. The interest is low. Even after six years, "the maximum payment in any year is £35 million, and that does not become payable until our external income—that is, from exports and shipping and the like—is, in terms of present prices, 50 times that amount." Britain pays, in other words, no interest unless her exports are about 60 percent in excess of the prewar level. This new debt is unlike the war debt of 1919, because it is not a consolidation of loans already spent on war, but new money, available for productive improvements. "Has any country," asked Lord Keynes, "ever treated another country like this, in time of peace, for the purpose of rebuilding the other's strength and restoring its competitive position?"

And what about the future? Great stress has been laid by British opponents of the arrangement on the fact that it will end the pooling and rationing of expenditures by the sterling area. But this applies, not to the balances already accumulated, but only to current earnings after the spring of 1947. The practical reason for the clause is that it will permit sterling-area countries to buy from the United States rather than exclusively from Britain. How long would India, Egypt and the Crown Colonies be willing to go on, in time of peace, buying only from Britain, especially if Britain cannot supply all they require? "The way," said Keynes, "to destroy the sterling area is to prey upon it and to try to live on it." Keynes might have added that the Bretton Woods agreement in its "scarce-currency" clause permits the rationing of dollars as it has been practised by the sterling area, if there should be need for it in the future, and that nothing in the new agreement supersedes this clause.

And what of the projected trade agreement? It does, to be sure, outlaw discriminatory practices and declare for a reduction of trade barriers. But it does not outlaw planning, whether socialist or otherwise. It permits state trading and bulk purchasing. It facilitates planning of the volume of imports and exports to maintain an equilibrium in the balance of payments. It permits protective devices when they are needed to maintain equilibrium and forbids them only when they are not needed. In Keynes's judgment, it combines "the advantages of freedom of commerce with safeguards against the disastrous consequences of a laissez-faire system which pays no direct regard to the preservation of equilibrium."

The one point on which all these agreements are firm is to prevent the deliberate and persistent creation of a separate economic bloc by Britain and any satellites which she may attract. The agreements do insist on the effort to build a worldwide economy. They bind the British and American economies together. Britain has officially accepted this decision. If Congress ratifies, we shall accept it also.

Many Tories would not have it so. Do our Socialist friends also object? If so, they cannot expect us to follow them. By the agreements, they will be taking a chance on American willingness to import, and on the expansion and stability of the American economy. But without the agreements, they will be embracing the certainty of rival economic blocs, of trade wars, and a very slim chance of escaping any economic misfortunes of the United States. We, on this side of the Atlantic, cannot even attempt to insulate ourselves from the American economy. We have no choice. It is up to us to make it work. Is it not really up to Englishmen of good will to join us? Do they really have an acceptable alternative?

Why the GI's Demonstrate

SOLDIER DEMONSTRATIONS are breaking out all over the world; at this time and distance it is hard to decide whether reports that actual violence may follow are true. Republicans, reactionary Democrats and the Hearst-Patterson-McCormick press have gleefully seized on these events as unbeatable anti-Administration propaganda.

The demonstrations have at least one useful aspect. Some foreigners may think less of the United States because of them, but others will recognize that the army that protests is a citizen army, not a mere military machine. "This is democracy working," marveled a Chinese editor in Manila. "It isn't just a word. You can smell democracy." When the 86th Infantry Division was recently ordered to resume combat training in the Philippines, restlessness among all troops in the area was heightened. Possibly a few are thinking in political terms, but beyond doubt the vast majority would bitterly oppose orders to take up arms again, this time against the Filipino Huks, the Koreans, or the Chinese Communists.

General Eisenhower's reaction has been typically common-sense and understanding, and it may well have been at his suggestion that area commanders have promised to take no disciplinary action against the demonstrators or their organizers. A few CO's lost their nerve, however. Colonel Charles A. Mahoney talked nonsense when he charged that a demonstration before Secretary of War Patterson was fomented by "Communists and Bolsheviks."

But undeniably something is seriously wrong, both in Europe and Asia. Certainly the officers of our army have never encouraged mass breaches of discipline. It takes great provocation to drive combat troops into action against their commanding officers. Even to discuss a demonstration is to invite court martial, and under strict interpretation of military law, hundreds of men have deliberately exposed themselves to the

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risk of years of imprisonment. With or without violence, the demonstrations would be called mutinies by any confirmed militarist.

The cry is, "We want to come home!" But that alone does not explain the demonstrations. The President and the War Department have both shown that demobilization has been remarkably rapid. Five million soldiers have been discharged since V-E Day, and 1,250,000 sailors. Servicemen know this. Why, then, the excitement? Are they demanding the impossible?

A partial explanation is the widespread bungling of planning and detail. Men have been moved to embarkation points long before ships were available, crowded together, badly fed and provided with no recreational facilities. Often they have been given wrong information or none: one division was assigned five successive sailing dates! No one can tell these men they are "essential"; they are just sitting, separated from their arms and equipment. No one can explain to them why usable ships are idle, why ships sail for home empty or with non-essential cargoes filling space which could be used by men. Even a single instance of favoritism, or unwarranted exercise of officer privileges, is inflammatory under these conditions. But this isn't explanation enough. The customary administrative stupidity doesn't lead to worldwide demonstrations.

One basic cause is not hard to find. You can read about it in the final issues of *Yank*, or get it from talks with men just out of uniform. The fact is that our men in service are thoroughly and finally fed up with an antiquated, undemocratic, unworkable system of caste and officer privilege. For the same offense an enlisted man gets years in prison and an officer a reprimand. Officers eat good food and drink fine whiskey while enlisted men get ice cream and beef stew on the same plate and choose between thirst or local rotgut. Enlisted men aren't supposed to think, but every officer is assumed to be all-wise. Combat veterans have come home with countless stories of incidents in which their lives were endangered, or in which comrades perished, because of the errors or even the whims of incompetent or sadistic officers.

The militarists' justification of the system dates back to Charlemagne and Alexander. Enlisted men know it's nonsense. Most reserve officers know that too, but it works in their favor, so they accept it. It could be maintained in wartime when professional soldiers had their own way, but this is peace, and the average soldier isn't having any more. *Yank* recently published a program of military reform which sought to make every needful concession to military necessity but put forward the common soldier as a man who even in time of war is a citizen of a democracy, a literate man, possibly a thinking man, and certainly a man who even in uniform retains a few elementary rights, such as the right to simple justice.

The demonstrators, then, don't just want to come home. They want to get out of the army. The dismal failure of the voluntary-enlistment program thus far is ample evidence.

How many should come home? Who should come home? Eisenhower may have precipitated an even worse mess by his order to theatre commanders to send home every "non-essential" man. Who is essential, and essential to what? Servicemen in Europe and Asia would like to know. Does it mean that efficient, capable men will have to stay while others are released? What military functions are still essential and why? Until the Administration in general and the War and Navy Departments in particular work out and make clear to everyone the objectives and methods of occupation policies, there won't be any sensible answers.

Finally, it's up to Congress to work out our peacetime military policy. The brass hats want the May-Gurney bill, drafting men directly into the armed forces for a year's service in peacetime. The President would probably agree to the bill of Senator Knowland (R, Calif.) which accepts military training in educational institutions or service in the National Guard as a satisfactory equivalent. It's an election year, so Congress is afraid to act, but until it does so, it must accept responsibility for the retention of men in service and continuation of the present draft law. If Congress does act, men overseas can gradually be replaced by components of a new regular army.

Certainly, the government which orders citizens into military service has a responsibility for their treatment in the service. Congress cannot, in the face of these demonstrations, continue to regard the armed forces as the mere private preserve of West Point and Annapolis graduates. Military reform is generations overdue, but it can be brought about only by legislative action. If congressmen are looking for soldier votes, they must do better in that direction than merely beating the drum for "bringing the boys home."

Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

For Whom the Can Tolls

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Spanish Fascism: Next Phase

THE CURTAIN seems to be coming down on the fascist tragedy in Spain. The last act may not be played according to the principals' liking, but the script is ready for the performance. If it is followed, Don Juan, the pretender to the Spanish throne, is to fly from his exile in Lausanne, Switzerland, to Portugal, via Rome, where last-minute conversations are to be held with Royalist sympathizers and Vatican authorities. In Portugal, where he has been granted a residence permit, he is to proceed to the Portuguese-Spanish frontier for immediate entry into Spain when the cue is given. Meanwhile, General Franco is to appoint a regency and go into exile, possibly Argentina. The regency is to set up a new government, declare a political amnesty and proclaim extensive reforms. If all goes well and these maneuvers gain popular support, Don Juan is to cross the frontier and confront the world with a *fait accompli*.

While earlier rumors of restoration of the Spanish monarchy could be discounted as having been planted by Franco himself in order to win time, or having been dreamed up by wishful Royalist die-hards, this latest scheme to prevent popular democracy in Spain must be taken seriously. Ever since this country and Great Britain some weeks ago accepted the French invitation to confer on a solution of the "Spanish problem," meaning the liquidation of fascism in Spain, General Franco has known that his political days are definitely numbered. Although in the early part of January, in a speech before about two hundred top-ranking military leaders, he defied "foreign interference" in Spain's internal affairs, he could not conceal his fear that further procrastination might well cost him and his closest Falangist advisers their political lives. He sent a procession of important Spanish personages, identified with his regime but in favor of restoring the monarchy, to Lausanne for negotiations with Don Juan, including Jose Sangroniz, the Spanish Ambassador to Italy; Fernando Luca de Tena, publisher of the powerful monarchist daily, *ABC*; and Jose Maria Oriol, a wealthy Basque closely connected with Spain's most important financial families.

The connections and political preferences of these representatives betray the real purpose of their mission. They are less concerned with the ouster of Franco and the reëstablishment of democracy than with the preservation of the privileges and advantages of Spain's ruling classes—the landowners, big financial and industrial capitalists, army generals and higher Catholic clergy. They will gladly let the fascist ship that so long has carried their goods sink, if they can then sail under the flag of the House of Bourbon. They know, just as do their Republican enemies, what is at stake when, as dissatisfaction with the Franco regime mounts at home and abroad, the chance for a peaceful transition lessens.

What is the role played by this country and Great Britain in these negotiations? On the surface, relations between Madrid and Washington are cooler than they have ever been since Franco's usurpation of power. One month after the departure of our Ambassador, Norman Armour, who is apparently not to be replaced, the State Department has now withdrawn the American Chargé d'Affaires and Counsellor of the Embassy, William D. Butterworth Jr. (who, however, will be replaced by Philip Bonsal). But skeptics fear that these changes in our diplomatic staff are merely a ruse designed to absolve the State Department from responsibility in the eventual restoration of the Spanish monarchy—a solution which, they believe, is preferred by some Department stuffed-shirts. Such skeptics think our government wants the British, whose financial interests in Spain are threatened by violent change, to carry the ball. But the British attitude is not altogether clear either. For instance, British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin recently permitted the BBC to relay to Spain a broadcast by former Spanish Premier Juan Negrin, a sharp alteration of previous policy.

In any case, all liberal opinion should be thrown behind the Spanish Republican Government-in-Exile. In spite of its political deficiencies and limited representativeness, it represents the only solution which, in the long run, is acceptable to the people of Spain and the democratic peoples of the world. The Government-in-Exile in turn should immediately broaden its base by including those exiled political leaders, notably Negrin, who are now outside. It has been reported from the Spanish underground that the much-publicized, Communist-led Junta Suprema has been disbanded, and that its adherents have been advised to join the Alianza Democratica, the united front of all Republican parties and trade unions. If the democratic people of Spain are united at home and in exile, the restoration of the monarchy under fascist auspices will appear as what it really is—a political farce.

THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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A Plan for America

by Senator James E. Murray

SINCE JANUARY, 1944, when the full-employment bill was introduced into Congress, its sponsors have been asked repeatedly just what sort of program would be necessary to carry out the objectives of the measure and provide sustained full employment in a free America.

I have usually answered this question by pointing out that the bill commits the federal government to maintain full employment by every appropriate means and establishes executive and congressional machinery for developing the specific details of a full-employment program. I have always maintained that under the bill there could be many alternative types of full-employment programs, depending upon the economic situation at any given time and upon the varying judgment of Congress.

The full-employment bill is now in the hands of the Senate-House conference committee. We shall soon know whether an adequate bill will be passed, or misconceived, ineffective and unworkable legislation which would serve only to confuse the issue. It would be most unfortunate for our country in the days ahead if this legislation were wrecked by the bias and ill will of men who are more interested in blocking sound, progressive government than they are in full employment. If, however, we can have enacted a carefully worked-out bill such as the Senate version, we shall lay the foundation for a program which will help cure the most serious defect in our economic system: recurrent mass unemployment.

CHARACTERISTICS OF A FULL-EMPLOYMENT PROGRAM

Accordingly, I should like at this time to state my personal observations on the requirements of such a program, in the hope that they will help stimulate constructive thought and discussion on this all-important subject. These observations are based upon many conferences and discussions with economists, businessmen, members of Congress, and public-spirited citizens who are seeking to avoid another major depression. They are also based upon a careful review of present federal policies and pending legislative proposals.

Before discussing specific fields of action, I should like to suggest five benchmarks by which, in my opinion, any full-employment program must be judged.

First, the program must face up to the question of how far we are to push toward a better distribution of national income, as contrasted with the use of federal deficits to compensate for maldistribution of national income. Neither approach is easy. Improved distribution of income means a clash with dominant vested interests. Federal deficits mean a collision with those who regard a balanced federal budget as more important than a balanced national economy.

The only realistic policy is to place major emphasis upon obtaining a better distribution of income. This means central emphasis on all government policies and functions that affect wages. It means vigorous and forthright attack on monopolistic prices. It means driving toward a tax system designed to increase consumption and thereby speed up production. It means that public works and public services should be approached primarily on the basis of meeting public needs rather than as compensatory devices for coping with economic fluctuations.

To the extent that this effort to improve the distribution of income may be unsuccessful, we must deal with the deficits in purchasing power through proper government-spending programs—if full employment is to be maintained. But in so doing we must make it unmistakably clear that the responsibility for federal deficits rests with those who oppose a fundamental attack on our basic economic ills. It is those who support monopoly and special privilege and stand in the way of improved policies on wages, prices, taxes and public expenditures who are responsible for making it necessary to use deficit expenditures as a means of maintaining employment.

Second, the objective of full employment must be integrated with these other basic objectives of national policy: a rising standard of living, the preservation and strengthening of civil liberties and personal freedom, and the maintenance of friendly economic and political relations with the rest of the world.

Third, it must be a long-range program. A short-range approach can lead only to a series of improvisations based upon one emergency after another.

Fourth, the program must be truly comprehensive. No handful of measures by themselves, no matter how important, is sufficient to give us full employment. It is essential that all the innumerable fields of action affecting employment and production be encompassed within the program.

Fifth, the program must consist of much more than a number of disconnected policies. Too often one arm

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of the federal government knows not what the other arm doeth—as is particularly true with respect to expenditure programs, on the one hand, and regulatory activities, on the other. All of the government's innumerable activities should fit together within a general framework and add up to a total level of economic activity that assures remunerative employment opportunities for all who are willing and able to work.

Specific Fields of Action

In listing some of the important fields in which decisive action is essential, I shall try to cover the government's present activities, pending proposals that deserve support, and the need for new proposals to help meet our country's problems.

Business and Finance. – The government's present activities with respect to business and finance are little more than vestigial remains of programs designed to cope with the economic problems of bygone days—the days of trust-busting, of depression and relief, of mobilization for war. They bear little resemblance to the kind of program needed to meet the problems of today or tomorrow.

On the vital question of monopolistic control we must develop a two-sided approach. On the one hand, our anti-trust activities must be strengthened. In this connection the final report of the Temporary National Economic Committee is particularly pertinent. The TNEC unanimously recommended more adequate funds for the Anti-Trust Division and the Federal Trade Commission, legislation against patent monopolies, registration of trade associations, control of corporate mergers, more stringent civil penalties for the violation of the anti-trust laws, and authority for the Federal Trade Commission to serve as Master in Chancery in anti-trust proceedings. Although these recommendations were made almost five years ago, none of them has been carried into effect. On the other hand, in all cases where it is impossible to prevent monopolistic practices and restraints of trade, we must develop methods of public control that will adequately protect the public interest.

We must promote the peacetime uses of atomic energy and, in general, stimulate research and technological development.

We must eliminate discriminatory freight rates, promote the industrial development of the under-developed areas of our country and help spread our population over the thinly settled areas.

We must liberalize the lending operations of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and establish a banking and credit structure that will really help small business and all truly competitive enterprises.

We must provide more direct incentives for the utilization of government plants by small independent business enterprises, and under no circumstances allow such plants to be disposed of to an unregulated private monopoly.

During the war, all attempts to establish a coördinated government procurement system under civilian control were frustrated by Army and Navy claims that any change in the procurement set-up would impede the war effort. Since peacetime procurement will still have an important effect on our postwar economy, we must achieve the complete coördination, under civilian control, of the activities of all government purchasing agencies.

Labor and Working Conditions. – In the field of labor and working conditions, the essential task is to defend labor's right to bargain collectively and to strike. Compulsory arbitration or government wage-fixing should be avoided, since they do not comport with our democratic system.

At the same time, the government must clearly recognize the need for increases in purchasing power if our capacity to consume is to catch up with—and keep in line with—our capacity to produce. All facts relevant to wage disputes should be collected and analyzed on a current basis—not merely when a strike situation develops.

In addition, it is essential to press forward to obtain approval of pending legislation to improve the minimum-wage and government-salary structure, prevent discrimination in employment or in wages, and improve our facilities for conciliation and voluntary arbitration. We should obtain action on the long postponed study of annual wage systems, and the long delayed reorganization and strengthening of the Department of Labor. Finally, another attempt should be made to obtain enactment of legislation to outlaw oppressive labor practices, as proposed by the La Follette Civil Liberties Committee and as passed by the Senate in 1940.

Agriculture. – The government, as yet, has no postwar program to offer the American farmer. Its present activities in agriculture are based upon a wartime expansion program now in the process of liquidation and a prewar program aimed at restricting farm production and adjusting American agriculture to the exigencies of world depression.

To have full employment we must develop an agricultural program aimed at the maintenance of farm income; support for farm prices should be subordinated to this objective. This calls for regional and commodity programs for the improvement of the present use of agricultural resources—along the lines of the cotton-conversion program currently proposed by the Department of Agriculture. It also calls for crop insurance, assistance both for farm purchase and tenant farming, greatly expanded public works and public

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services in all agricultural areas, and a United Nations program to use unabsorbed farm production in raising nutritional standards throughout the world.

Construction and Capital Investment. – At present, much worthwhile activity is in process with respect to roads, airports and flood control, and action can soon be expected on a program of hospital construction. But these activities, excellent as they are, need amplification.

The pending proposals on the Missouri Valley Authority, the St. Lawrence Waterway and the Columbia River Authority open up many new frontiers for enterprise and expansion. They should be supplemented with similar proposals for other areas.

In the field of housing, the pending general housing legislation proposed by Senators Wagner, Ellender and Taft represents a historic and statesmanlike approach to one of the most important problems of our time. With an expansion of the public-housing features and a further liberalization of the FHA provisions, this legislation would serve to meet America's total need for housing of all types.

Above all, we need a coördinated approach to the problem of stabilizing construction and capital investment. This would call for the formulation of long-range and short-range estimates of the need for capital investment of all types, advance planning of all federal construction and coöperation with states, local governments and private enterprise in planning non-federal capital investment. My construction-industry bill, developed as a result of hearings before the Senate Small Business Committee and currently being revised on the basis of discussion with experts in the field, is aimed at this objective.

Social Services and Welfare. – The existing social-security program is out of date. Coverage should be extended to include the many groups that are now excluded. The old-age and survivors' insurance should guarantee an adequate income for the aged. We need substantial liberalization and broadening of unemployment compensation and public assistance. We need a real health program, as proposed in the new Wagner-Murray-Dingell bill.

In the field of education, current proposals for federal aid are too narrow in concept. We need a long-range program of federal aid to equalize and expand educational opportunities at all levels and to include programs for handicapped children, youth work, vocational education, physical fitness, school lunches, libraries, community centers, summer camps, non-military education in the armed services and the expansion of educational buildings and equipment.

Finally, the Federal Security Agency should be converted into a Department of Welfare and Security under the direction of a cabinet officer.

Foreign Economic Relations. – The American economy is merely one unit—though perhaps the most important one—in the world economy. During the past year we have made considerable progress with respect to international currency stabilization, loans and relief and rehabilitation. But we have not yet formulated a clear-cut policy of assisting in the economic development of underdeveloped areas of the world, which represent the great potential markets for our products. Our program on the reduction of tariffs and the negotiation of trade agreements must be supplemented by a realistic approach to the problem of those domestic industries that will necessarily be curtailed by the liberalization of trade among nations.

Above all, we must transcend the narrow approach to foreign trade in terms of mere trade barriers. The key factor in the exchange of goods and services among nations is the consuming power of each country—and this depends upon the levels of employment and income. The currently projected world trade conference must include not only the problem of trade barriers, but that of full-employment policy. Each of the United Nations should agree to maintain full employment within its own borders in a manner consistent with its own traditions, and without resort to the "exportation of unemployment."

Taxation and Fiscal Policy. – The present trend of tax policy is toward the stimulation of an uncontrolled and short-lived boom in business investment. As part of a full-employment program, we need tax legislation that: (a) is directed at increasing consumption; (b) sets forth basic long-range policies, rather than being limited to the next fiscal year; and (c) is phrased in terms that any intelligent layman can understand. In drafting such legislation, careful consideration must be given to taxation of undistributed corporate profits, the elimination of tax-exempt securities, an all-out campaign against the large tax evaders, special concessions for independent small-business enterprise and the financing of our social-security system through the regular tax structure rather than the regressive payroll and wage tax.

Bishop in the St. Louis Star-Times

Face to Face

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In recent years there has been increasing acceptance of the idea that fiscal policy should be used to help iron out the fluctuations in the business cycle and that a balanced federal budget cannot be hoped for except over a reasonable period of years. However, we still have a long way to go in educating the people to the fact that a balance between our capacity to produce and our capacity to consume is far more important than any balance between federal expenditures and federal revenues. In fact, a long-range balance in the federal budget can be obtained only if: (a) we have sustained full employment based upon a greatly improved distribution of the national income; (b) we set a period of years that is long enough to embrace both the up-swing and down-swing in business investment; and (c) we have a long-range economic program to cover this entire period.

With service on the national debt such an important part of the economic picture, the interest rate at which the government borrows its money should be reduced. It will not be enough to maintain low interest rates in general. Methods can be developed of borrowing through the Federal Reserve System at little or no net cost to the government.

Finally, a special commission should be established to try to obtain coördination between the government's fiscal policy and that of our states and local governments.

Government Organization. – It has often been said that Congress is a body without a head. It might be added, I presume, that the executive branch is a head without an adequate brain. Both branches need fundamental reorganization.

In the near future, the La Follette Committee on the Organization of Congress will submit its report. This should be the signal for aggressive action to rejuvenate the organs of party leadership in the Senate and House of Representatives, establish a coördinated pattern of committee action and provide additional staff assistance both to the committees and members of Congress.

Without waiting for any formal reorganization, however, it is essential that each House be asked to debate and vote upon a Joint Resolution expressing acceptance, modification or rejection of the general program submitted to Congress by the President at the beginning of every session. Only in this way can members of Congress be impelled to come to grips with the problems of our economy as a whole.

In the executive branch there has recently been a healthy trend toward increasing departmental responsibilities. This should be accelerated by reëxamining the status of the so-called "independent commissions." The executive branch can have no consistent and carefully planned economic program if such commissions remain a law unto themselves and constitute a fourth branch of the federal government.

We must be particularly wary of any attempts to put federal funds or federal power into the hands of special interests—as proposed in the May-Johnson bill on atomic energy, one of the pending research bills, and the hospital-construction bill recently passed by the Senate.

Above all, we must establish within the executive branch a realistic approach to economic planning. Planning bodies, set off in an ivory tower, apart from the main stream of decision and action, should be avoided. The development of a full-employment program must be the direct responsibility of the President; the staff work must be done in the Executive Office of the President and be closely associated with the planning of agency budgets. In order to decentralize the operation, planning offices should be established in all the departments and agencies. A formal structure of interdepartmental committees should be used to help develop programs that cut across agency lines.

The Task Ahead

Since our task today is to make a new and fresh approach to America's problems, it is only natural that major emphasis be given to legislation. Only when our new legislation is adopted can the emphasis shift more toward the development of sound administrative policies.

While there are many legislative proposals now pending before Congress which can serve as essential elements in a full-employment program, there is still a broad area of legislative action for full employment *in which no adequate bills have been presented to the Seventy-ninth Congress.* Here are but a few of the fields in which new legislation is needed: monopoly and competition, freight rates, loans to business, government procurement, elimination of oppressive labor practices, basic agricultural policy, river-valley development, aid to education, veterans' benefits, a Department of Welfare and Security, economic statistics, tax policy and congressional reorganization.

Of course, there are some who point to the black record of the first session of this Congress and throw up their hands in despair. "Look at what has happened to the President's recommendations in his September message to Congress," they say. "If we can't get congressional approval for improved unemployment compensation, a permanent FEPC and a Missouri Valley Authority, why worry about thinking up additional proposals to be buried in committee or defeated on the floor?"

The answer to this question is manifold.

We need a truly comprehensive program if the support of independent businessmen, professional people, farmers, labor and all thoughtful citizens is to be enlisted in the campaign for full employment. We need a truly complete program if we are really to plan

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ahead to meet the needs of our vast and complex economy—instead of having to ring an intellectual fire alarm whenever a new crisis develops. We need a program as broad as a party platform if the issues involved in the fight for full employment are to be brought to the people at every election. If we are to oppose effectively those reactionary forces in America which are opposed to full employment, we must learn the strategy of total warfare and campaign on many fronts at the same time. Above all, our full-employment program must not be limited to what political strategists predict will be acceptable to the Seventy-ninth Congress.

Never before in the history of our country has there been an articulate drive to maintain employment opportunities for all who are willing and able to work—as distinguished from merely trying to provide relief in time of depression. There is still a vast need for public education on all the issues that are involved. There is a great war to be won, the war against depression and poverty. If we are to win it, we must not be afraid of losing some of the battles. The fight for full employment has just begun.

Home to North Platte

by Ralph G. Martin

NORTH PLATTE'S White Horse Bar was almost empty when the bartender made a short speech about how there was a new tone to the town. It was because of all the veterans coming home, he said. More noise, more parties, more girls dressed prettier, more people laughing in the street. It was different than it used to be, he said.

Months ago, when the soldiers got discharged in driblets, he remembered how they wandered into the bar one at a time, looking lonely. Some of them would have a few quick drinks and leave. But every once in a while, one of them would insist on buying him a drink, just to have somebody to talk to. And the first thing he would say would almost always be, "Jeezus, I walked all around town and I hardly know anybody any more."

Now they rushed in, a lot of them at a time, still all excited, some of them slapping each other on the back and talking loudly without knowing it. He seldom heard them talk about the war, though. He thought it was probably because everybody figured that maybe somebody else in the crowd saw more combat than he did.

But if there were only two of them, just a couple of buddies, then they talked about everything, bringing themselves up to date on when they were where, and what the women were like.

"Of course," said the bartender, "none of them would tell me any stories about the war." He picked up a German helmet and pretended to examine the signature scrawls on it. "They don't want to hurt my feelings," he said. "I'm a 4-F."

But he had talked to them about other things. No, he hadn't heard them bitch much, except, of course, about the housing situation.

Several doors away, in the Chamber of Commerce office, a serious-faced, deep-voiced young man was trying to explain why some of the 15,000 people in this town were unsuccessfully hunting for places to live. He told how the Union Pacific was the biggest boss in town, handing out a weekly payroll of 2,000 checks. Then, when the war pulled out their workers, other people moved into North Platte from other towns to get the railroad jobs. And now they weren't moving; they liked it here.

So far, the city's only solution was to ask for 80 trailer homes, which the government finally allotted. But nobody had the slightest idea when they would be delivered. Nobody knew when the privately purchased prefabricated homes were coming either. And absolutely nobody had the vaguest notion as to how long it would be before construction materials would be available for building regular homes.

There was another headache, too, though: the job headache. Since there were no industries in town, the thing he had been recommending to business-minded veterans was for them to open a few more retail stores and maybe a lithography plant and certainly some more eating places. Right now, you couldn't even get a malted milk in town after seven o'clock at night.

About individual jobs for veterans, well, he didn't know for sure. "You ought to see the USES about that," he said.

The gray-haired USES manager laughed away the job worry. He said that there were plenty of jobs, and if the vet couldn't find any in North Platte, don't forget there was still the rest of Lincoln County. And Lincoln was the second biggest county in Nebraska.

What kind of jobs? Why, only this morning, he got six unsolicited offers for veterans in On-the-Job Training. That was the government's offer to supplement a certain amount of wages for veterans learning new trades. The wages had ranged from $25 to $45 a week and they had placed 45 men in jobs like that, and there would be lots more.

Of course, there was a limit. Pretty soon, there might be an unemployment lag, he said. A few companies already had canceled their job offers. And after

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the veterans here picked off all the good jobs, there wouldn't be too much for the others to choose from. But all this was just temporary, he said. Things would start humming soon. Road construction, lots of new buildings, things like that. He wasn't at all worried. North Platte would take care of its own. "If you want to see what the North Platte people do for servicemen, why don't you go down to the canteen?" he said.

THE CANTEEN, a big room at the railroad station, had a long row of tables packed with all kinds of delicious-looking home-cooked food. On the side was a sign, "Today's Specialty—Hot Turkey Sandwiches." Behind the tables, a large group of motherly-looking women were trading talk, waiting for customers.

Sitting behind the reception desk, a pretty girl smiled automatically. They sometimes served almost 8,000 servicemen a day, she said, and all of it was absolutely free. There had been all kinds of write-ups about it in different magazines and they all said it was one of the best service canteens in the country.

"And it is," said the pretty girl seriously, "it really is."

Lots of soldiers had told her personally that if the rest of the people in town were as nice as the people in the canteen, then they were going to move here after the war. "And I wouldn't be surprised if they mean it, too," she said.

Most of her own boy friends hadn't been discharged yet and she hadn't talked to any other veterans about how they felt, but she couldn't imagine any veteran having any complaints about North Platte. "Because it's just the same now as it always was," she said.

An elderly woman standing near the entrance suddenly let loose a small squeal of delight. "I see a train coming," she said excitedly. Some more women quickly clustered around the entrance. "Get ready, girls," one said, and they all stopped their talk and moved behind their food tables, brushing away imaginary dust.

At a small café across the street, the healthy-looking waitress laughed when she said, "Oh yeah, sure, I've been dating a lot of veterans lately. They're all ages, from 20 to 40."

"Most of them aren't too happy, either," she said. "You know how that song goes . . . how you gonna keep 'em down on the farm after they've seen Paree? Well, that's it. Only most of these guys have seen New York and L. A. and Frisco and lots of other big places like that. So now North Platte seems awful little and awful dead."

There just weren't too many places in town where you could go and have yourself a big time, she said. There was the small Arrowhead and another new one called Joe's Place, also on the outskirts of town. Then there was a club in town, X Servicemen, but it was mostly a crowded gambling joint. And that's all there was.

But it was more than that, she said. In the first place, you couldn't find anywhere to live in town and in the second place the returning vets she knew were kinda particular about what job they took. She could hardly blame them about that, because it costs so much more to live now than it used to.

Take her brother, for example. He made $300 a month as a fighter pilot during the war. Now he's been sitting around for four months doing nothing because the best job offer he got was $30 a week.

"He's going to California," she said. "He doesn't know what he's going to do there, but he's going anyway. There's lots of others here like him, too."

Russ Langford, who runs a big wholesale grocery company, listened to the story about the fighter pilot and shook his head.

"What kind of jobs can you give them?" he asked. "Most of them just got a high-school degree and never learned a trade. They can't even get a job flying now, because pilots are a dime a dozen."

He told how few good jobs there were to offer in town and how a lieutenant colonel was coming back to his old route, delivering mail. Then he told how the Union Pacific had announced that it was going to lay off 25 men and it was almost dead sure that most of them would be recently hired veterans who didn't have any seniority. And the longer the veteran waited before job-hunting, then the fewer the jobs and the stiffer the competition.

The man with Langford, a guy named Joe who worked in the radio station, then broke in to describe the vets in town who didn't have to worry about a future to fit into. They were the rich kids who could always depend on mama and papa, the farm boys who could always go back to the farm, and the athletes who could go back to any college they wanted to.

Joe also had a private suggestion that maybe a lot of vets who couldn't find the jobs and homes they wanted might reënlist. . . .

THE LIEUTENANT at the Army Recruiting Station in town admitted that business wasn't too good. And there were all those advantages a reënlisting veteran got, he said. There was the 90-day furlough right off the bat and you could keep your old rating and in 16 or 17 years you could retire. Besides that, the money you made in the Army, counting room and board, was probably more than you could make on the outside.

How many reënlistments from North Platte so far? Well, he didn't know exactly, he would have to look through his file.

"I guess we only have two," he said, after thumbing through some cards. . . .

Business was also slow in the judge's office, according to the middle-aged secretary. And she just couldn't understand it either, she said. She thought that a lot of veterans would come in and get married right after

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they got home. But they didn't. The marriage rate was just about the same as last year, slow. Funny part about it was that there were almost as many divorces as marriages. About the marriages, she had been talking it over with a friend and they had decided that the reason people weren't getting married was because they couldn't find a place to live. . . .

Downstairs, the white-haired county farm agent said he had been busy, that a lot of veterans had been up to see him recently. Most of them wanted to buy their own farms.

"But I told them all not to," he said. "I told them that farms today cost 25 to 50 percent more than they ever did and if they just waited a year or two, then the price would come down. Why? Because there's nothing to hold them up any more; the war's over."

It was getting dark outside and most of the stores were closing up for the night. The big Hawes Pool Room was still full of customers, mostly high-school kids and a sprinkling of soldiers. Across the street, facing the railroad station, the Alamo, "the bar that Buffalo Bill drank over," was full of the usual transients getting a drink in between trains.

At the edge of the bar, two sober soldiers drinking beer were talking about North Platte. "Somebody told me that this wasn't really Buffalo Bill's home town," said the taller one.

The other just nodded. "What's the difference?" he said. "This is still the kind of town I like. Look how peaceful it is. Plenty of fresh air and lots of quiet and friendly people and nobody worries about anything much. Just normal living. When I get married, I'm gonna move to a town just like this and buy me a small house and open up a store and raise kids. This is for me."

The taller soldier killed his beer, thought it over and shrugged his shoulders. "I'll still take Brooklyn," he said.

A Back-Bencher on Bevin Policy

by K. Zilliacus, M. P.

UNLIKE NAPOLEON (not to mention Hitler), Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Bevin have returned from Moscow wearing the laurels of victory. Moreover, it has been the best kind of victory—a victory for common sense and good will, a victory for those who wanted the wartime alliance of the three world powers to become a solid and enduring partnership in the organization of peace. But Mr. Bevin has made it quite clear that the Moscow conference was valuable chiefly as a starting point for tackling still bigger issues.

The compromise reached on the control of atomic energy should make it possible to work in earnest on the question of an agreement between the principal powers on the amount of armaments they propose to keep and how they intend to use them. The agreement to substitute inter-Allied control for exclusive American control of Japan fulfills a demand that has been pressed strongly by Labor opinion in Britain. But the rest of the demand, that there should be United Nations air and naval bases in the islands taken from Japan, or at least in those nearest to the Asiatic mainland, remains unfulfilled. For both Japan and the Japanese islands in Eastern Asia raise problems of home defense for the Soviet Union, whereas so far as we can see, American interest in these areas is purely imperialist. From this point of view we welcome the agreement ending Soviet-American rivalry in Korea and the further agreement on policy in China.

It is regrettable that the use of British troops in liberated Indonesia did not come up for discussion at Moscow. There is a strong feeling in the Labor Party, including its parliamentary membership, that the situation in Indonesia is a matter of international concern and should be dealt with by the principal Allies, either on an Allied basis, as an issue left over from the war, or through the Assembly or Security Council of the United Nations, as part of the job of organizing the peace.

Indonesia, after all, was liberated by Allied action and British troops were sent there as the mandatories of the Allies. Their attempts to round up and disarm Japanese troops and to evacuate war prisoners and internees have got mixed up, on the familiar plea of "restoring law and order," with what is virtually a war to break the power of the Indonesian National Resistance Movement and to put the Dutch back into control of these islands. If the matter were brought before a committee or a conference—preferably based on the UNO Charter—in which the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Australia and New Zealand were represented, British opinion would feel a lot better about the situation. If the issue had been treated as an international question, the main claim of the Indonesian

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Nationalist leaders would have been accepted. Indonesia would be assured of the status of an independent state, qualified for admission to the United Nations. Through UNO and its functional agencies it would have been possible to give the government of the Indonesian Republic the technical advice and assistance it needed to make a success of its job without its being in a state of inferiority or political tutelage to another foreign power. The Moscow Conference decision on Korea is a good precedent.

THEN THERE IS PERSIA. This situation is complicated by several factors: the present government is a corrupt and inefficient tyranny and the Tudeh Party, flourishing under Russian protection in Azerbaijan, undoubtedly does represent most of the progressive and democratic forces in Persia. When Lenin abandoned the sphere of interest of Czarist Russia in northern Persia, in the Treaty of 1921, he did so, Soviet spokesmen point out today, in consideration of a Persian promise that foreign imperialist interests would be kept out of northern Persia and that the Persians would run their own country. This condition, the Russians say, has not been kept, for Anglo-American oil interests have been trying to muscle into northern Persia for some years and have practically made the present Persian dictatorship their tool for that purpose. In addition, it should be remembered that Soviet strategic interests in this part of the world are strictly home-defense interests, whereas Anglo-American strategic interests are purely imperialist. This does not alter the fact that Soviet methods have, to say the least, been high-handed and careless of the prescriptions of international law. But it does suggest that the way out should be through an agreement on similar lines to that covering the situation in northern China.

Turkey was another subject on which no agreement was reached. What the Soviet Union really wants from Turkey is an effective share in the control of the inlets and outlets of the Black Sea and the Mediterranean through the Dardanelles, the Suez Canal and the Straits of Tangier. Those areas are traditionally regarded as vital to the communications of the British Empire, but they also happen to be approaches to the back door of the Soviet Union. The whole British conception of the Near and Middle East as a matter of exclusive imperial and strategic concern for Britain dates from the Crimean War rather than the Crimean Conference. Our imperial defense problems and responsibilities east of Suez can be solved only on the basis of the UNO Charter. Therefore communications through the Mediterranean, which in any case concern the USSR as closely as ourselves, should be internationally controlled and guaranteed.

Labor Party's own official policy statement adopted by the annual conference last summer speaks of the need for sharing strategic bases and key lines of communication with our principal allies. The way to apply this policy would be to revise the international status of Tangier, the Suez Canal Convention and the 1936 (Montreux) Straits Convention so as to put them under the control of the United Nations Security Council.

The only point on which anything has been done, so far, are the American proposals for a revision of the Montreux Convention. These proposals do not appear to have been worked out so as to conform with the obligations of the Charter of the United Nations. They say, for instance, that in time of war the Straits should be open to merchantmen of all nations. They should obviously be closed by order of the Security Council to merchantmen of any aggressor state. The Soviet Union would probably also require physical guarantees against the Straits being closed by Turkey in defiance of the orders of the Security Council. Demilitarization would probably meet that demand.

In Eastern Europe the Anglo-American undertaking to recognize the Bulgarian and Rumanian governments on "face-saving" conditions is a big step forward. The Labor government has been pressed by its supporters to take this step for some time: our argument is that only by full recognition of their governments can we earn the right to play a part in shaping the economic and political development of these countries. The Labor Party's official policy statement declares emphatically that socialism is essential to economic reconstruction and to the spread of political freedom and democracy in Europe. The Labor Party is also officially committed to the view that the free communities of the future will grow out of the wartime resistance movements.

WHAT ALL THIS adds up to is that many supporters of the Labor government feel we should get together with the USSR to back the resistance movements and the broadly based Left coalitions under Communist and Socialist leadership that have issued from these movements, in their policy of reviving democracy through public ownership and control of key industries, finance and transport.

We have found these things necessary in order to make a success of reconstruction at home. And as Europe is our backyard and vital to our home defense, we feel that we have a vital interest in its fate which transcends the rights and interests of any overseas country. That is why we believe the salvation of Europe and the keystone of world peace would be an Anglo-Franco-Soviet combination to reconstruct Europe on socialist lines, with such coöperation as the United States felt it in its interest to give in return for the widening opportunities of trade and investment which it would derive from a European renaissance of this character.

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UNO Begins

by Michael Young

London (by cable)

A FEW HOURS AGO, Prime Minister Attlee opened, at Westminster's Central Hall, the first session of the United Nations General Assembly. As the cables have already reported, Belgian Foreign Minister Spaak was elected president. Attlee echoed what was in the mind of every delegate when he quietly remarked, "Things that are discussed in conference here are the concern of all and affect the home and life of every man, woman and child," and urged that "UNO must become the overriding factor in foreign policy."

To every delegate listening, Attlee presented a copy of the intricate 150-page report of the Preparatory Commission representing the final results of six months' intensive work by numerous committees of the secretariat, which has grown from three persons to 550 since August, under the leadership of the British Foreign Office's Gladwyn Jebb and the former head of PEP (Political and Economic Planning), David Owen. The British public is less aware of these solid achievements than of the impassioned debate in the Preparatory Commission on the location of headquarters.

There was an acrimonious attack on the Anglo-American proposal to create a temporary trusteeship committee; benevolent-looking Manuilsky, Ukrainian Foreign Minister, and fiery little Lopez from the Philippine Commonwealth both hinted that this was an attempt to postpone surrendering former enemy territories to UNO. On these and other issues, South American delegates voted fairly consistently with the United States, as did the Eastern European states with Russia (with the exception of Poland, which had voted with Britain and the Western European countries for Europe as the site of UNO). The countries of the British Empire were rarely united; the dominions have become skillful protagonists of international democracy against dictatorship by the Big Three.

This is mainly an organizational conference despite resolutions on the agenda on atomic energy, UNRRA and trusteeships. But surprises are still possible; it has been suggested that Molotov decided to stay away because of the possibility that Turkey and Iran might cause difficulties.

Next week the real detailed work begins. Public interest centers about the election of the Secretary-General, who is responsible for appointing the entire permanent staff of UNO. Some who have been mentioned as candidates are Eden, Van Kleffens, Eisenhower, Simich, Van Zeeland, Jan Masaryk, Mudiliar and Lester Pearson. On the basis of extraordinary personal ability, the Indian delegate, Ramaswami Mudiliar, would probably be the outstanding candidate. But Lester Pearson, the Canadian Ambassador to Washington, is thought a more likely choice. Canada is in an exceptional position: she links Britain, the United States and the small powers, and has made great contributions during the war to the development of atomic energy.

The great contrast between the delegations from the United States and Russia was again apparent. The Russian delegates were given detailed instructions and the Soviet government kept a tight rein on them; Vishinsky could not move without the absent Molotov. The United States delegation offered a group displaying different attitudes which came to the surface over fear by some that an atomic-energy commission, including Russians, may be entitled to inspect American factories. Some other delegates were afraid that the United States representatives were not speaking for the dominant forces in Washington.

One underlying issue is how far UNO should be purely inter-governmental in character. The Russians, for example, have taken the view that the officials of the secretariat are essentially representatives of their governments, while the Anglo-Americans have proposed recruitment on the basis of personal competence. British Labor leaders increasingly favor conversion of UNO into a world government. Bevin stated his aim as the creation of "a Parliament of Man." In this case, it will eventually have to have a "House of Representatives" as well as a "Senate." But a gradual process is not impossible; Bevin made a start by proposing that UNRRA be brought within the framework of UNO and that its financial revenue be doubled.

Attlee may have had this in mind when he said today, "To make this organization a living reality we must enlist the support not only of governments but of the mass of people throughout the world." Whatever disagreement there may be about the rate of progress we are making, no one disagrees with Attlee's words: "I have intense faith that we shall make UNO a success. We have learned from past mistakes. The old League of Nations suffered from many disabilities, most of all, perhaps, because two great nations, the United States and the USSR, were not present in its formative stages. Today as never before the world is united. . . . We must and shall succeed."

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Trouble Coming in California

by Miriam Roher

TAKE SAN DIEGO. A total of 289,000 men, women and children lived in the pleasant, leisurely environs of "Ramona's marriage place" in 1940, most of them existing comfortably enough on their savings or in the service, direct or indirect, of the United States Navy. Then war intervened. The Navy burgeoned into the most powerful the world has ever known and San Diego became one of its prime Pacific headquarters. At the same time, on barren stretches of San Diego tideland sprang up mammoth airplane plants employing tens of thousands of people.

The result was 126,500 added human souls in San Diego, a 44-percent increase in less than half a decade, just about one new resident for every two who had lived there before. Those 126,500 and their counterparts may become unwitting antagonists in a new civil war that is being fought—and will probably become fiercer within the next year—in most of the cities on the West Coast.

For make no mistake about it, the "in-migrants," as the busy wartime federal coördinating agencies called them, are still there, except for a very few. The siren song of the West has been heard for a long time. The wartime parvenus have been no more deaf to it than their predecessors in other migrations. But, unlike their predecessors, they will not be so readily absorbed. For this time they represent an employment problem. And a housing problem. And—possibly just as serious—a problem of social assimilation.

The plain, ugly truth of the matter is that the "old" residents of California (everyone who has been there longer than five years is by divine right a native son or daughter) dislike these wartime arrivals. Primarily, they fear them for economic reasons—the old-fashioned, justifiable fear of the depression-burned American for his job and his bread and butter. Except for a negligible minority of professional optimists, there is hardly a Californian who does not expect that, very shortly, there will be too few jobs to go around. The scarcity will be far more serious than elsewhere in the nation, because California has nothing to reconvert to. Where the airplane plants and the shipyards now stand there was nothing but space five years ago. The plants are still there but most of the war contracts are not. The people are still there also, and they still want jobs. The "natives" want jobs too. Here are the seeds of a nasty conflict, already audible in unpleasant murmurings in street cars and over card tables.

Some thoughtful Westerners still remember what happened to the migratory farm workers of the thirties, the last object of native sons' and daughters' resentment. Only wartime shortages of help with the crops forced a more courtly attitude on the part of the Associated Farmers and allied groups. But this new minority, already muttered against in the midst of wartime prosperity because of the crowding and discomfort they caused, will soon be seen against a background of job scarcity and of physical discomforts no longer to be put up with in the name of patriotism.

To complicate the picture is the fact that so many of the recent arrivals have skins with pigmentation different from that of most Californians with prior residence. Between 1940 and 1944, San Diego's Negro population increased 75 percent; the Los Angeles area Negro group gained 78 percent; in the San Francisco Bay area the Negro population increased, staggeringly, 227 percent.

In time, as the more recent white residents learn the local customs about when and where to don slacks (or as the older residents learn from the newcomers, also a possibility), it will become more difficult to tell, at thirty paces, whether a man or woman is an Okie (as the newcomers are peevishly called) or a native daughter whose forebears came over the Rockies in a covered wagon. But even a myopic Californian knows a Negro from a white man.

Race riots, beside which the late disturbance in Detroit will look like a game of tag, are what some Californians see in the clouded crystal ball. In the vigilante tactics employed against returning Japanese Americans, they have another thermometer to measure the rising temperature.

Some Westerners, ostrich-like, refuse to recognize the problems they face. Many others, mole-like, cannot see them. Still others see it plain and bold and propose measures not entirely peaceable. But there are responsible elements among California leaders who are attempting intelligently to meet the postwar problem of white and colored and yellow minorities. Aware that economic ills bring out minority fever, they are trying primarily to feed their state vitamins in the form of jobs, to prevent the sickness altogether if they can.

On the state level, there is a California State Reconstruction and Reëmployment Commission, whose statu-

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tory objective is to "prevent unemployment," "promote the readjustment of displaced war workers" and "provide for postwar adjustment and reconstruction and to encourage economic and social improvement of the general public." The Commission has done nothing directly on the minority issue, either because of an enlightened realization that there is no sense treating symptoms when there are causes to be eradicated, or else because of an understandable reluctance to expose dirty linen in public. To its credit, it has publicly expressed itself on the subject of the migrants in a fashion quite distinct from the barroom braves.

"Migrants are an asset," boldly asserts this state agency in one of its pamphlets. "Migration has been one of California's chief avenues to greatness and growth." Then, in tacit recognition of the popular misconception that everyone who came to California after 1940 hailed from indigent surroundings in Oklahoma or Arkansas, "they [the migrants] are as varied as all the people in California, and they are similar in their variety to all the migrations in California's history."

The Commission predicts unemployment running anywhere from 400,000 to 1,000,000. Immediate mass joblessness is not expected, because ship-repair work, vacations by tired war workers, and plenty of military activity as the result of discharges and the Japanese occupation will keep many Californians busy for some time to come. This unemployment will be a creeping sickness, they expect, ending, by 1947 at the latest, in a panicky realization that all is far from well.

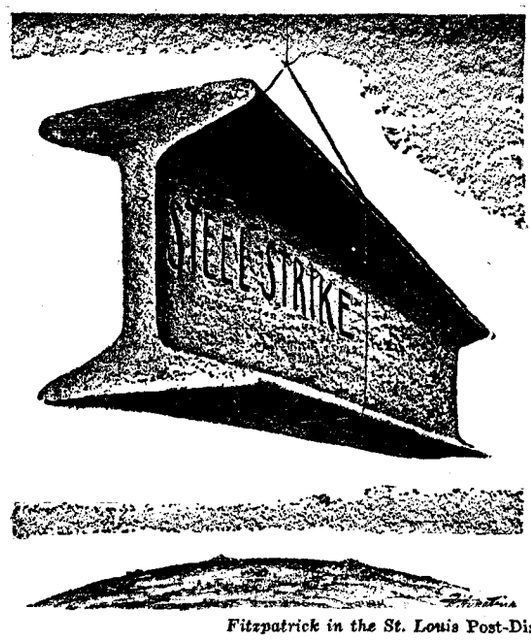
That wholesale unemployment will not come at once may turn out to be less than a blessing. It may prolong the period of official fiddling while California burns. Republican Governor Earl Warren put high on his legislative program the creation of a body to study political and economic discriminations against minorities. But the proposition was buffeted about in strong political currents and was officially listed as lost when the lawmakers recessed in June. A special session of the legislature met early in January to deal with some of California's problems. The Governor is asking for emergency legislation, and appropriations, for housing; an agency to make production and employment estimates along the lines of the federal full-employment bill; extension of vocational training; state loans to small business; and unemployment compensation for those out of work through illness. What the legislature will do with these worthy, though inadequate, proposals remains to be seen.

It is too soon to tell what will be the result of the swipes that the Reconstruction and Reëmployment Commission has made at the job question. Having firmly and publicly abjured responsibility for doing any planning itself, the Commission employs a field staff whose job is to stimulate California communities and business to do their own planning, to bring in new industries and to build public works (preferably, however, without recourse to the state's exchequer). The Commission has also been responsible for scores of committees set up to scurry about and find more peacetime job-giving enterprises.

Locally, San Diego itself represents one of the most active community-wide attempts to beat the postwar unemployment rap. A vigorous Chamber of Commerce postwar planning group talked the community into contributing $240,000 to be used as a kitty for research and promotional efforts. A $70,000 slice was used at once to pay for an industrial survey of San Diego's prospects, made by an Eastern firm skilled in such matters. Thirteen hundred pages of facts and statistics were the result, with recommendations centering about the chances for establishing 23 new industries in San Diego and expanding 19 existing ones. What the results will be in terms of jobs, and in terms of oil on the troubled waters of community conflict, no one knows, but the effort is commendable.

In the meantime the hypothetical Thoughtful Californian is worrying about other consequences of the liberal wartime injection of new plasma into his state's bloodstream. Even jobs for everybody will not eradicate overnight the fact that a good many of these new Westerners come from states where the "three r's" were not passed around to the general population. In other respects, also, the comparatively fancy cultural level of the people has gone down, due to the fact that some of the newer residents don't give a hang about shoes, or hot lunches for their children at noontime.

California's melting pot is boiling faster than ever. Nobody who knows anything about the history of the United States doubts that, ultimately, the results will be good. But before that happens, it is safe to predict some very stormy times.



Fitzpatrick in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch

How Strong a Thread?

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Profits Are Public Business

by George Soule

RECENTLY there appeared an advertisement which represents General Motors' view. A milkman is talking to a housewife on her doorstep. He tells her that since he has heard the family income has gone up, he is going to charge her more for milk. Such an act, we are supposed to infer, would be absurd and unfair. There is a general market price for milk. Every customer pays the same price, no matter what his income. It would be impudent for the milkman to ask to see the family accounts, ridiculous to charge different prices to different families.

The assumption here is that the price for labor should be arrived at in the market as a result of the forces of demand and supply and a process of bargaining. Every employer in an industry should be able to buy labor of a given kind and quality at the same price. How much profit he is able to make after doing so is the concern solely of management; efficient managements will make more, others less. If this procedure is upset, the keystone of private enterprise is removed.

Surprisingly few people understand how it happened that unions are asking to see employers' books.

The workers have suffered a reduction in earnings through loss of overtime and in other ways. They need wage increases to recover their purchasing power. This demand is being made in nearly every important industry. It follows that if employers generally raised prices in order to grant wage increases, the unions would simply be chasing their tails. Their purchasing power would not be restored if for every dollar they gained in the pay envelope they had to spend a dollar more in a higher cost of living. Therefore it is a condition of the wage demands—at least on the part of CIO unions—that wages be boosted without any increase in the prices of the products.

At this, management raises its eyebrows in grieved consternation. "We can't afford it," say the company officials. "You are asking 48 hours' pay for 40 hours' work." To which the pertinent reply is—and this is the reply the unions have made—"From what we are able to find out about your costs and profits, you *can* afford it. Here are the available figures. If you have any better ones, produce your books and support your case. If you can prove to us that we are wrong, we will withdraw our demand."

At this point the managements retire into generalities about their prerogatives under private enterprise. Or they engage in verbal fencing by asking whether unions want to be treated like owners, and will take a reduction when profits fall, or accept a lower wage in less profitable establishments. Of course that is not the union position. They want a nationwide increase in purchasing power; the managements say it is impossible; the unions simply ask them to prove it. Profits enter the discussion only when the employers in general contend that they cannot pay what workers believe is just and necessary.

Is this, as the publicity of General Motors argues, a revolutionary threat to private enterprise? There is nothing new about demanding evidence of ability to pay; this author participated in a wage arbitration in 1922 in which an accounting survey of the New York printing industry was jointly made and considered by the arbitrator. The unions do not now want higher wages in the more profitable companies than in the less profitable ones; they are seeking industry-wide increases. What *is* new about the CIO position is that they make these increases conditional on the absence of price increases.

The milkman advertisement is as misleading as most arguments by analogy; milk companies are not wage-earners, and housewives are not great corporations. But let us rephrase it so that it will accord more closely with the wage dispute. The milkman says, "I need to charge more to pay my rent and feed my wife and children." The woman on the doorstep replies, "I can't afford to pay more." The milkman counters with the suggestion that, according to published figures, she and all the other families on his route have been getting more money and can pay what he needs. If she can prove to him that she can't, he will reconsider. Whereupon she tries to end the argument by, "It's none of your business whether I can pay or not."

Though there is no need to labor this point, consider what we should think of the attitude exactly contrary to that of the CIO. It is exemplified by that great Republican and defender of private enterprise, John L. Lewis of the United Mine Workers. Prices and profits, he declares, are not of interest to him. He wants price control abolished. Let the employers charge what they can and make as much as they can.

Lewis wants a wage increase for the miners, and this may be an easy way to get it. Either he believes that the miners are not bright enough to see that wage boosts will do them no good if the cost of living rises

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This is the third and last of a series under the general title, "Profits by the Billion." The previous articles appeared in our issues of January 7 and 14. — THE EDITORS

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at the same time, or else he wants to get them an increase while preventing the other unions from winning their demands. Sometimes it seems as if the latter were his policy. At any rate, there is little reason for any of the rest of us to favor collusion between miners and coal operators to charge us more for coal.

Employers who, like General Motors, argue first that they cannot pay a given wage increase, and second that their figures of costs and profits are not relevant, have been driven into a logical corner. Is this merely the result of a smart but unsound maneuver? As anyone who has experienced such disputes at first hand knows, most union leaders are far more clever in argument than most employers. But we don't always judge the essence of a cause by the skill of its advocate. Let us look more broadly into the question of the public interest in profits.

What Information Is Concealed?

What is known from published records is that:

1. In 1944, corporations as a whole made more than twice as much profit, after taxes, as in 1939.

2. If volume of sales were as large in the future as in 1944, and costs were no higher, corporations would make at least 50 percent more profits than in 1944, because of the removal of the excess-profits tax.

3. The war profits were not, in the main, taken out by owners, but remained in the business. Liquid assets of corporations are at least $50 billion larger than before the war, while their productive capacity has greatly increased.

4. Even at much lower volume than in 1944, or with smaller profit margins, business could earn as large net profits as in 1939.

5. If profits fall below the 1936-39 average in 1946, the government will refund most of the shrinkage to those companies which have paid enough excess-profits taxes to equal the drop.

6. On the basis of prewar trends, there is a strong likelihood that labor costs will fall rapidly because of increased output per hour.

All this information creates a presumption that hourly wages can in general be increased rather sharply, without necessitating price increases. What other knowledge is needed, which is not publicly available, to estimate future ability to pay?

We do not know, by individual establishments or by industries, what unit labor costs or other unit costs actually were in any recent year.

We do not know what are the management estimates of unit costs for peacetime products in 1946, or how these estimates are arrived at.

We do not know in any detail management estimates for volume of production and sales in 1946.

Consequently it is difficult to estimate the effect on profit margins, or on total profits, of any specific wage increase, assuming a continuation of price ceilings as set by the OPA.

Admittedly all such estimates are uncertain, and may have to be changed as experience develops. But it is on the basis of estimates that management makes its plans for the future. Why should they not be laid on the table when future wages are under discussion? Even though they may contain wide margins of error, it might be possible within these margins to calculate maximum and minimum effects on profits of specific wage increases, and take limited chances accordingly. Every decision in the management of industry involves some chance. The art of good management is to avoid blind chance-taking as much as possible.

The refusal of a management to open its books (at least to the government) means merely that it wants to be the sole informed judge of what can or should be done about wage increases, being the sole possessor of information like the above.

Without the figures, decisions about wages reached by bargaining, mediation or arbitration might direct too small a share of the national income to labor. Just conceivably, such action might set wages so high as to restrict that income by making production unprofitable.

Accounting Relativity

Whether wage decisions can be made on the basis of information now withheld, or only on the basis of what is publicly known, those who do the deciding should remember that corporate figures of profits and costs are not the literal information they are sometimes taken to be. As thoughtful accountants have shown, the profits of any given year may be higher or lower, on the basis of exactly the same business operations, according to the accounting methods applied. The same is true of costs.

A simple illustration is the various methods of handling the purchase of new productive equipment. New

Drawing by Bernstein. Copyright by Field Publications, Inc., and reprinted by courtesy of PM

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equipment might all be charged to expense in the year it was bought. It might be bought by borrowing the money, on which interest and amortization would have to be paid. This would reduce profits much less in the year of purchase. Or it might be bought out of earned surplus, in which case it would scarcely affect costs and profits.

The general custom now is to charge off the cost of new equipment by depreciation. If a charge for depreciation is made, it appears as an expense, and reduces current profits by that much. The larger the percentage charge for depreciation, the larger are costs and the smaller is profit until the purchase price is written off. In that way profits may be transferred from the present to the future, assuming that a larger amount of new equipment is being bought at present than will be bought a few years hence, and that the period of depreciation or amortization is shorter than the useful life of the equipment. Thus, during a period of high production and profits, a company buys expensive new equipment and charges it off in five equal instalments instead of in ten or twelve. Its profits will be correspondingly lower during the five years, because its costs include this charge, but at the end of the period its costs will drop. This is exactly what many companies did during the war.

Another variability lies in the possible methods of handling inventory valuation. If a company uses the "first-in, first-out" method, it values its inventory at the prices prevailing at the end of the year. If a company uses the "last-in, first-out" method, it values its inventory at the prices prevailing at the beginning of the year. If, during a period of rising prices, a company changes from the first of these methods to the second, it reduces its profits, though it has the same physical inventory, actually bought at the same prices. In the fiscal year ending November 1, 1941, Armour and Company reduced its consolidated net earnings $4,200,000 by this shift.

Because it now uses the last-in, first-out method, Armour will reduce inventory loss and correspondingly increase profits (if any) in a postwar year in which prices decline. (If prices should go on declining for several years, however, the two methods would show the same result.) Many companies made this shift during the war, thereby reducing war tax payments at little or no cost to themselves, and hedging against postwar deflation.

If a company builds up a special reserve on its books by charging something to costs, it can increase its cost figures and reduce its profit showing without in the least decreasing its actual net receipts or its liquid assets. Even though such a charge may not be allowed by the Treasury authorities as a deduction for tax purposes, it will show up as an item of overhead in cost accounts, which may be used as a basis of price control. The moment the building of this reserve ceases, and it is used to meet the contingency for which it was set aside, costs drop correspondingly and profits increase. The many special reserves built up during the war reduced book profits, while after the war the probable diminution of charges for such reserves will reduce book costs.

A company may charge to annual repair costs extensive modifications in machinery or plant which greatly increase its productivity. Such charges increase costs and reduce profits proportionately when they are incurred, but reduce costs in subsequent years. Many corporations followed this practice during the war and are in a correspondingly better position for peace.

The point of these examples of technical accounting relativity is highly pertinent to the present issue. The tendency of most corporations which were profitable during the war was to use every possible device—and there were many—to increase costs and reduce profits as long as excess-profits taxes were levied. Most of these expenditures will reduce costs and increase profits now that peace has arrived and excess-profits taxes have been repealed. (The tax carry-back, which puts a premium on low profits in 1946, may offer an incentive to continued cost boosting for the current year.)

One of the important reasons for inspection of cost figures is to estimate the effect of the particular accounting practices employed. Without seeing these figures, it is safe to guess that costs are soon due for a sharp drop, entirely aside from what may actually be paid for labor and materials.

Profits and Full Production

The main public concern with profits transcends the issues of specific wage disputes. What wage-earners and the bulk of the population want most of all is the production of as many desired goods and services as the capacity of the nation at any one time permits, and the steady continuance of that high level of operation. In a private-enterprise economy, profits have much to do with the achievement of this aim.

The huge accumulations of profit during the war are represented partly in increased plant capacity, partly in engineering and technical improvements—many of them radical changes—which greatly increase efficiency, and partly in additional billions of liquid assets which are readily available to meet costs of reconversion and finance enlarged production. War profits are relevant to present ability to pay, not because any sensible person expects increased wages to be paid out of past corporate income. The meaning of war profits is rather that they gave business the resources—physical, managerial and monetary—to produce a much larger real income after the war than before it, both for themselves and for everybody else. If labor is to have its share in such an income, it must have wages that increase while prices are stable, or increase faster than prices, or do not drop with prices.

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The danger in the huge war profits is that they may induce business either to rest on its oars or to diminish production while fighting for a larger share of the national income than it might otherwise have. The profit margins of war, after the repeal of excess-profits taxes, would yield a substantial and perhaps satisfactory income to business owners even at levels of production which would be so low as to keep millions unemployed.

The fundamental issue is whether enough purchasing power will be distributed—and spent—to absorb the products of full and expanding operation at full employment. In an economy characterized mainly by private enterprise, the initiative in distributing purchasing power is left with business executives.

Their decisions about how much to produce affect the volume of employment, as well as other main components of the stream of income. Their decisions about prices and wages determine how widely distributed shall be the income arising from production. Their decisions about the investment of savings—the greater part of which come, directly or indirectly, out of profits—determine largely whether the national product shall expand steadily or suffer collapse. Single corporations may not be able to go counter to the general trend, but the decisions of business as a whole set that trend.

The Public's Stake

If wartime savings by consumers are spent freely, business might in the near future be able to sell all it can produce and maintain high employment, even though prices rise and wages trail them at some distance. But this would be a sure harbinger of inflation and future collapse. Swollen profits would be channeled into speculation which in turn would speed up the rise of prices in markets for securities, real estate and commodities. When the deferred demands were filled, or perhaps even before, the balloon would explode, and most of us would have no parachutes. This result would be equally probable if business limited output in the interest of lower wages and higher prices.

Whether consumers now spend their savings or not, the time will come when a wide distribution of increased purchasing power will be necessary if sales are to be sufficient to provide the incentive to full production and expansion of investment. It will come sooner if war savings are not spent. Business may without danger to the economy make ample profits from full production. But if it fails to increase wages enough or lower prices enough, it will sooner or later find itself piling up more money than it can profitably spend in production, because existing capacity in important lines will be more than sufficient to produce all that can be sold. Then will come the crash.

All these matters are of first rank in the national interest. They would create a justified public concern with profits even if past and present profits had been unaffected by any but private decisions. But government has affected them in a dozen ways. It has permitted expansion of productive capacity without cost to business. It has provided a huge market, has set prices and held down wages. It has repealed excess-profits taxes, and now offers a guarantee to profits below a certain level. What business does with the resources thus left in its hands cannot be a matter of indifference to agencies embodying the public will. We may as a people entrust management to private enterprise, but we have a right to know how it is preparing to exercise its responsibility. The General Motors view that wage disputes have nothing to do with national economic policies is a declaration, not of the responsibility of management, but of irresponsibility to the public interest.

A Contemporary

We are the contemporaries of the difficult century.
Our course is charted by the flight of lead.
We are defending the dignity of man
And fight our battles to the bitter end.

Listen, our distant future generation,
To the words of those who face danger.
In the night, through the wintry frosts,
Your sapper-forefather crawls to the bridge.

Pain is burning his simple heart;
He is paying a terrible price to his time.
The hands which crumpled this figure
Forced his flight into the abyss.

Listen, our distant future generation,
To the words of those who face danger.
There glides, lithe and supple,
Your forefather-scout, on skis.

Short is the moment of a sudden skirmish!
Skiing, he is preparing his grenade—
He, the producer of life, the able biologist,
Tears life's tissue into fragments.

War news is not easy or simple.
It is bitter to walk over bloody dew.
People of ordinary, average height,
We—the producers of life, the builders.

This era gave us no choice;
Strength and steel will solve this dispute.
That's why your sapper-forefather
Will fight to his last breath of life.

ALEXEI SURKOV

Translated by Anya Fisher

Alexei Surkov is a 46-year-old poet, an officer in the Red Army during the war, whose poems are extremely popular in and out of the Army.

Anya Fisher, formerly a research worker and translator with Vilhjalmur Stefansson, is now poetry editor of the West Coast Daily Worker. *She lives in Los Angeles.*

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Washington Notes

Congress Comes Back

CONGRESS is back again, and President Truman has followed up his vacation fireside-chat appeal with his Annual Message. I can't see that the temper of Congress has changed much, one way or another, as the result of presidential pressure. The chief thing that has happened is that Truman has thrown down a challenge which he can't pick up again without loss of prestige.

Politics will be more noticeable this session than last because all sides are thinking of next fall's election. That might have some effect in disciplining recalcitrant Democrats. They know the Republicans are going to argue that Mr. Truman has admitted "ineffectiveness," and will appeal for election of a GOP Congress to get "strong leadership." But in the issues that lie ahead, how can the conservative Southern Democrats coöperate with the liberal members of the party? They are split wide open. About all the Democrats can do is to point out that the Republicans are cleft, too; which is perfectly true.

Truman's political course is clear. He must try to make himself a symbol of liberalism which the common man can understand and which will unite segments from either side. And once having started the job he can't afford to let up.

Strikes and threatened strikes are at their peak as this is written. I dial long-distance, trying to reach New York and, yes—there he is again—the little man with the metallic voice, slowly and endlessly repeating: "This is a recorded announcement. Operators are on strike. We're sorry we cannot handle your call. . . . This is a recorded announcement. Op—" And so on. Old Man Robot will probably be in there, saying the same thing, in the same impersonal tone, when the first atomic bomb hits.

However, a pattern is emerging in the wage disputes. Everybody acknowledges that wages will be raised; the question is, how much? Management offers around 10 percent; unions demand 30 percent. The panels then tend to split the difference, at around 18 percent. That has happened in the oil and GM strikes. When Mr. Truman ended the Little Steel wage-price formula, he declined to set up anything as specific in its place, arguing that this should be left to collective bargaining. Now the interim pattern seems to be crystallizing, although unions will make a mistake, judging by all federal forecasts of probable 1946 profits and enormously expanded productivity in the days ahead, if they forgo the right to get still higher wages in 1947 and 1948. As for industry, it may balk against a compromise settlement, as GM is doing as this is written. Maybe GM is just trying to save face. It will be fun to see what its next batch of advertisements will say: probably they will denounce Lloyd Garrison, Judge Stacy, Milton Eisenhower and Walter Reuther as Reds. Maybe I am naïve, but it seems inconceivable to me that GM can long resist the pressure of this calm, judicial panel report.

Undoubtedly the Neanderthal men of U. S. industry want a showdown fight now to "put labor in its place." Will they win? I can think of no other single thing at the present time that would leave a greater heritage of bitterness, class conflict and hatred, no matter which side won. That's what happened after the great 1919 steel strike. Judge Gary crushed labor. Result—? Today there are four or five times as many union members as then.

Up to President Truman's message to Congress, the opponents of the British loan have had it almost all their own way. The demagogues have been active, in news stories, in columns, and on the radio; the advocates of the loan have answered in high-powered abstractions almost incomprehensible to the average man. One public-opinion poll, at least, has shown a greater percentage of opposition to the loan now than when it was first being negotiated; the failure to take the case successfully to the people has been as alarming as was the initial apathy of the State Department and Administration over the Bretton Woods program.

When opponents of the loan do not stoop to pure prejudice, they concentrate on the argument that a loan to Britain will pave the way for impossible demands from all the other Allies. But the attack is not likely to be pitched on this relatively high level. Last week isolationist Senator Brooks of Illinois, on a radio panel, charged that the British did not want, need or deserve a loan; he asserted it would aid "socialism" abroad and inflation at home and held up Harold Laski as a bogey man.

Secretary Vinson and Acting Secretary Acheson are making radio talks but, if they will forgive me for saying so, they are inclined to speak over the heads of the public. Let there be no doubt about it, there hasn't been an issue in 20 years more susceptible to the William Hale Thompson brand of flag-waving demagoguery than the British loan. Yet failure would be tragic, and it would be almost as disastrous if the agreement had restrictive amendments tied to it. British nerves are worn ragged by six years of war; it is a question just how much of this sort of thing they can stand. Yet the alternative to agreement is division of the world into warring economic blocs. I hope the State Department and the Administration will wake up shortly to the fact that they are in a bare-knuckle fight with opponents who laugh at Queensberry rules.

Notes. – One reason you can't get butter is because controls were removed from the manufacture of cream and ice cream; uncontrolled by price ceilings these items siphon off the butterfats. . . . David Lawrence advocates the reimposition of wartime controls, the effect of whose withdrawal is now being vividly illustrated. . . . If Leon Henderson and Chester Bowles could have had the consumer support in war which the latter is now getting, the whole story would have been different; unfortunately it requires the taking off of controls to prove the point so many conservatives were denying during the war, that they are effective. Bowles's book, *Tomorrow without Fear*, will be out in a couple of months. . . . Note for the "Managerial Revolution": Vice-President Anderson of General Motors recently declared, "We don't give such information even to our stockholders." *Time* magazine looked up GM's Delaware incorporation papers and found, sure enough, that "No stockholder shall have any right to inspect any account or book," except under conditions satisfactory to the

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managerial hierarchy. . . . The public scored one big victory last week; the government finally forced the Aluminum Company of America to release its patents, which means that at last competition will be possible in the light-metals industry. . . . According to some observers, postwar inflation really started with congressional repeal of the excess-profits tax; the dollar is now worth about 70 cents of its prewar value. . . . After World War I it dropped to 40 cents.

Washington T. R. B.

Theatre Incorporated

Pygmalion, by Bernard Shaw. Ethel Barrymore Theatre, December 26, 1945.
Home of the Brave, by Arthur Laurents. Belasco Theatre, December 27, 1945.

THIS, of course, is not the place for a prospectus of Theatre Incorporated. But it might be useful for audiences outside New York to state that, with "Pygmalion," this new organization begins the presentation of a series of plays which it hopes to offer for engagements that are to be limited more or less, as the case may justify. There is no limit on the number and variety of the theatre artists to be presented. It is a non-profit organization, exempt from federal taxation; whatever income is derived goes to a cash reserve that will be devoted to a sustained program. From this initial venture Theatre Incorporated has every reason for high hopes, with regard to the production, the actors and the play.

It seems to be a usual thing to speak of this almost ancient classic of our stage by now—"Pygmalion" was written in 1912—as another Cinderella story. You can easily see how that came about, though this slant on the play is the least rewarding, least witty, least significant and least Shavian. The common luck of masterpieces and heroes is to have the brains gradually taken out of them. There are two fruitful approaches to "Pygmalion." One is that of a satirical farce-comedy on the dividing lines and the assumptions to be found in the British social structure, and the, according to Shaw, simple means by which they are wiped out or made ridiculous. The other presents the battle between, on the one hand, a theoretical, self-centered, learned male, heedless right and left of the human life around him, free, vague, erratic and rampant, part child, part imp and part tyrant—a generally engaging creature who so far has got away with it pretty much—and, on the other hand, life and love in the form of a young woman who is a character in her own right and who has something in her that moves her upward from the dregs and the gutter to where she meets him on his own plane, and better even than that, because of the warmth and rightness of her heart. It is like Shaw not to let this battle end with the play, sweetly and softly; the battle will go on, but with all the difference in the world.

"Whatever Socrates may say," Adeimantus protests in that last book of *The Republic*, "it remains true, as anybody can see, that people who stick to philosophy become strange monsters, not to say utter rogues; even the best of them are made useless by philosophy." And there is the story of Shelley in his Pisa house one day when some English visitors were there, wandering into the drawing-room reading a book and entirely naked, quite oblivious of everything. These two instances are extremes of what, taken gaily and farcically and shrewdly, becomes the key to the charm or the magnetism that our Professor Higgins has for people, especially women. There is something crazy and clean and helpless all together about him which makes you want to protect him and which is partly the cause of Eliza's falling in love with him.

This is the point at which Mr. Raymond Massey should begin his approach to the character. Mr. Massey gives a performance of Professor Higgins that is competent enough—in the last act a good deal more than competent. At any rate I cannot think of another actor who would have been a better choice. But it is all too heavy and too lacking in spirits and in the enjoyment of hearing himself let off. In the earlier scenes where he speaks of the girl as a gutter-snipe, as dirt and so on, the effect is not at all what Shaw intended; it is in fact unpleasant and almost brutal where rather it should be reckless, impulsive, talkative and too heedless of other people's feelings. Otherwise the battle that is on darkens; and thus is darkened, or dimmed, the wit and the immortal verve that underlie the play. And thus also the balance is disturbed between the brightly contending motifs represented in Eliza and in Higgins.

Miss Gertrude Lawrence triumphs in her Eliza. She looks, in the two society gowns, remarkably lovely. Her voice has a fine variety and range, it is comic, moving or burlesque by turns, and always persuasive. Miss Lawrence's Eliza is in the direction of the human and probable; and this is a safe direction for the appeal of the role. Many years ago in London I saw Mrs. Patrick Campbell's revival of this play. She had first done it under Shaw's own eye, and her attack was wittier, more impish and underscored; the dramatic struggle was thereby more cerebral and Shavian.

I would not suggest that Miss Lawrence try to copy Mrs. Campbell, but certainly her performance could gain by hitting things a little harder at times, for example at the tea party. This pointing up could be excused by the fact that Eliza is not yet fully accomplished in her new line, and the contrast between the agonized precision of her enunciation and the outrageousness of what she says would bring out more of the comedy that Shaw intended. The same is true of the old yowl that reappears when she sees her father; it should reproduce exactly that awful earlier noise of hers—obviously Shaw wants that; he wants a loud comic relief. Too soft at present, but a beautiful performance, and such as can come only of great talent and much experience.

There is an inspired relation of the secondary characters in "Pygmalion" to the two central characters, and all these roles are well cast and well played. Miss Katherine Emmet, with her usual precision and distinction, could not have been better as Higgins' mother. Mr. Cecil Humphreys as the scholarly colonel, Mr. John Cromwell as Freddy, the young man in love with Eliza, and Miss Anita Bolster as the housekeeper, played admirably. Mr. Melville Cooper as Eliza's father was excellent, and—this is by no means an unfavorable comment—suggests that he is growing better.

The producers spared nothing in their production. Mr. Donald Oenslager's settings were among the best that any

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play has had for some time, especially the Covent Garden scene, which was a knock-out, both as traditional and as modern stage design. Motley's costumes were most successful, especially Miss Lawrence's white dress with the hat and roses and tulle. Only Eliza's kimono was a failure. It should either be more becoming or else Miss Lawrence should be more comic in it, preferably the latter.

The occasion as a whole is delightful, the play devastating as compared with most of our plays today.

"Home of the Brave" is a very different situation indeed. In the Pacific, personalities are thrown against one another, and we have the drama that ensues. A Jewish soldier has had to leave his dead buddy behind him, his legs are paralyzed, the doctor is undertaking his cure by suggestion, etc. From this stems the motif of scenes reënacted. The hospital scenes, though written and played with sincerity, tend to go heavy on our hands, and the touchy-Jewish motif gets somehow too monotonous by comparison with the actual fighting scenes. These scenes, however, comprise more than half the play and are remarkably well done and well worth seeing. They are powerful in their moving appeal and finely expert. Mr. Joseph Pevney as the Jewish soldier gives a convincing and admirable performance.

STARK YOUNG

Dance Festival

New Dance Group Festival Series. New York Times Hall. December 27-30, 1945.

THE New Dance Group festival made it abundantly evident that the "modern dance" is a full-bodied, stable institution capable of competing with any form of theatrical entertainment and containing within a basic unity a great variety of artistic methods and purposes. The four evening performances were continuously absorbing, holding a nice balance between high-caliber theatrical entertainment and serious esthetic adventure, and for the most part, free of the besetting sins of the modern dance. The tendency to use huge, undigested, semi-political concepts was still to be found only in an extended gesture toward the Left by Sophie Maslow, to the text of a letter written by a dying Yugoslav guerrilla to his child, and in the dances of the two youngest choreographer-soloists, Eve Desca and Nina Caiserman.

Miss Caiserman appeared in two compositions which were little more than nicely joined and brilliantly executed movements from the technique of Martha Graham attached to portentous titles that only rarely intruded oppressive meanings into the dance itself. "Lucky Louie," Miss Desca's attempt at left-wing satire, belabors the cynical slacker of World War II by means of an off-stage monologue and a series of tap-dancing and burlesque movements by the dancer, who appears in full-length black tights and a costume usually associated with raffish Broadway chorus numbers. Where the satire is not simple ideologic warfare (by which I mean that the superiority of the satiric viewpoint is merely assumed rather than validated in the delineation of its object), it misses its mark by about thirty years. It impales nothing but a worn theatrical inheritance originally derived from the "sport" of a distant period and with no perceptible resemblance to the "wise guy" of today.

But "Lucky Louie" is not wholly Miss Desca's responsibility, since nearly all its faults are endemic in modern-dance satire. Often great in self-comprehension and in revealing the content of personal experience, the American modern dance has shown little or no ability to record the contemporary life closest to it with any detached, objective perceptiveness. The causes of this deficiency go back to its complex origins, and its most noticeable effects are in satire that relies almost wholly on the enthusiastic readiness of a rather cliquish audience to respond to the cues of its favorites.

Two conspicuous examples in this genre were "Caprice" and "Theatrics" by Valerie Bettis, satirizing respectively "glamorous" women and various types of female dancers. These were built up chiefly by sequences of straight, skillful dancing in the style being satirized, interrupted by presumably comic abbreviated movements, comically disconnected movements or sudden incursions of homely emotion into an artificial manner. By deriding a mode of movement only by interrupting it, Miss Bettis undermines the base of her satire. Indeed, she gives her consent to the very values she is presumably impugning by scoring the lapses from them rather than their successful fulfilment. It is the "glamor" of the glamor girl that should be the source of humor rather than the isolated moments when she destroys it by gazing down at a run in her stocking.

Fresh and accurate perception was also lacking in two non-satiric sorties into the surrounding scene—"Furlough," by William Bales and Jane Dudley, and "Seabourne," composed by Mr. Bales and danced with the assistance of Jane Dudley and Sophie Maslow. "Furlough" is little more than "Fancy Free" in a different style of choreography. "Seabourne" arrives on the stage enveloped in an atmosphere of foggy New England tragedy and emerges as a sequence of conventional if interestingly elaborated duets.

The weakness of the American modern dance's response to its immediate environment is largely the result of the fact that one of its original revolutionary impulsions was anti-theatrical, postulating a future society and an audience, not of spectators but participants. As such a society obstinately failed to materialize, the impulse exhausted itself while the syntax it had created remained to be adapted to the contemporary theatre. As this syntax was essentially opposed to the movement and gesture of the life about it, it still lends itself most readily to subjects either geographically or historically at a considerable distance. The transmutation of the "natural" idiom of the future into a sound theatrical style is best to be observed in the performance of William Bales, Jane Dudley and Sophie Maslow. Probably the most thoroughly consummated compositions to be seen at the festival were those in which one or another of the three took a folk pattern and raised it to a new intensity by expert choreography and dancing.

Unlike these three, Jane Erdman and Valerie Bettis use the theatre less as a medium than as a means. Essentially they are both engaged in wresting from the sole medium of movement in space, forms which will reveal and articulate the significance of their personal experience. Miss Bettis is one of the most immediately arresting of con-

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temporary dancers. Her movements are swift, flashing and executed with imperious authority; her basic dance concept and tone one of scornful criticism of an external world or society that nevertheless includes and defines her personality. It is a broad frame for a dancer, since the self-in-the-world allows the dance to contain all the variety from which the dancer who starts from the self-in-solitude is naturally precluded. Such a variety is difficult to integrate into dance, however, since it is the instinctive self, biologic, isolated, that is the chief source and center of rhythmic unity.

The result may be seen in a dance like Miss Bettis' "Theme and Variations," which, without words or music, creates a significant design by combining with a turning progress of the whole body about the stage, patterns of quick, lashing strokes originating at the shoulder or wrist and complementary, sharp leg movements thrust inwards from the hip. Successful as it is within its conditions, it remains a kind of tour de force of pure peripheral movement, since the whole central vertical plane of the body remains nearly useless, contributing no force of its own to the dance and not acted on by forces external to it. In general, Miss Bettis seems to have gone too far and too fast in commandeering novel and brilliant octaves of movement without establishing them on a sound emotional base or assembling them by coherent intellectual principles.

The most salient feature of Jean Erdman's dance is the strength of the impulsion which carries it through its difficult, intricate choreography with hardly a moment of uncertainty or a break in its progress. Essentially, her compositions gain this quality from following out the conflicts of a single *persona*, by which I mean not a mask but a personality which does not exist independently of the dance and is created for it out of a matrix of experience and insight. The fictive personality Miss Erdman employs is that of the female in utter isolation from the world, locked into herself by an androgynous conflict, struggling destructively to attract and transfix the male and, at the same time, to repel all male attraction. "Daughters of the Lonesome Isle," danced with the assistance of Helaine Blok and Elizabeth Sherbon to hypnotically compelling music by John Cage, is a powerful, evocative work of art revealing an unusual ability to subordinate technical mastery and choreographic inventiveness to the bidding of an intuition that unfolds in gradual, logical progress.

As a dancer, Miss Erdman's movement is generated from a low, internal center which results in a basically satisfying equilibrium that, however, is apparently incompatible with the sustained use of the body in motion as a whole, enclosing space and incorporating it into a design. What Miss Erdman does have is great control over individual muscular tension and the ability to create expressive dispositions of the body used as a solid bounded by space. It is a type of dance to which critical faculties and intellect are necessary but not fundamental and in which achievement is apt to be somewhat easier than in a dance as receptive to external stimuli and as fundamentally cerebral as that of Miss Bettis, who, in consequence, promises somewhat more than Miss Erdman though she has thus far performed considerably less.

WILLIAM POSTER

Science and Technology

Influenza Vaccine

A LITTLE TOO LATE to be of much value in the present influenza epidemic, but in plenty of time for the next one, what appears to be an effective vaccine has been put on the market. Tests over many months on very large numbers of members of the armed services seem to show that there is complete immunity, for six months or longer, in about 75 percent of the cases, and the other 25 percent are less severely affected, and recover more rapidly, than the individual with no vaccination at all.

The vaccine is effective against influenza types A and B, the commonest in the United States. This winter's epidemic which, according to *Science Service*, apparently reached its peak the week before Christmas, was type B.

A number of drug manufacturers are working busily turning out the vaccine, which is grown on chick embryos and then inactivated. Many hundreds of thousands of doses have recently been made available to the medical profession, and if your doctor is not yet able to obtain the vaccine, presumably he soon will be. On the other hand, having the disease should give you a natural immunity for a considerable period of time. The vaccine is given in only one or two shots, and most people have little or no reaction from it. Other things being equal, the average individual will presumably take this vaccine, if at all, in the autumn, at the beginning of the period of the year when influenza is most prevalent.

Would the new vaccine protect people in the case of another deadly epidemic like that of 1918, which killed 20 million persons, nearly twice as many as died in the First World War? No one knows; the type of virus prevalent in 1918 is still a mystery. One theory is that the 1918 virus was a specially malignant type, the result of rapid evolution over a number of "generations," and that nothing similar may recur for hundreds or thousands of years. If this theory is correct, it is highly unlikely that the present vaccine would be of any value.

The severity of any epidemic could be somewhat ameliorated if all churches, schools, theatres and other public buildings were equipped with bacteria-killing ultra-violet lamps or with machinery to fill the air with a fine antiseptic mist, practically invisible and odorless. Such installations had begun before the war started, and will presumably now be continued.

The *Journal of Experimental Medicine*, in a recent issue, reported remarkable success with a new type of immunization against pneumonia in the Army Air Forces radio school in Sioux Falls, South Dakota. This immunization would of course be far more important if we had not achieved such extraordinary results in recent years in curing pneumonia with sulfa drugs and penicillin. Nevertheless, the Sioux Falls experiments, if they are confirmed when repeated elsewhere and under different conditions, will add another and useful tool in the struggle against disease. B. B.

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The Bandwagon

The ideal of idleness has taken too great a hold upon this country. There is a profession of idleness, promoted by strikes. It is more fashionable to loaf than to work. . . . It seems we want government jobs for all the veterans. In other instances, veterans of a war have jumped in to rehabilitate the country and made jobs. . . . The radiant promises of the G. I. Bill of Rights have not panned out; neither will the idea the country can stay on its feet by refusal to work or take responsibilties pan out. Best we forget these silly new year promises and those promises born of wartime enthusiasm. . . .—*From an editorial in the Tulsa* World.

"I had hoped to spend the winter in Florida," Mrs. Young [victim of a jewel robbery], an attractive blonde woman who has been living in New York for three years, said yesterday afternoon in her apartment. "Now I'm not going any place, as I feel naked. Except for two pieces of costume earrings, I have nothing."—*From the New York* Herald Tribune.

To the Editor: Glory be to the anti-vivisectionists. I would like to boil in oil any man or woman who vivisects animals for the benefit of the noble human race.—*From a letter in the Detroit* News.

On the Home Front

A little white knitted blouse with nothing to it but perfection. A beautiful fit, a precious, fragile air—yet it's tough enough to be boiled like an old bath towel. $175. Made to order. Anivo.—*From* Harper's Bazaar.

What Does MacPhail Say?

Pope Names Four Yanks To Be Cardinals.—*From an advertisement of the Trans-Lux newsreel theatre in the Washington* Post.

Pomp and Circumstances

Probably the angriest of the men who are going to march Saturday [in the 82d Airborne Division parade in New York] are the 4,000 men of the 13th Airborne Division who were brought up some 600 miles from Fort Bragg, N. C., in 276 trucks to augment the thinned-out ranks of the 82d Division. They rode for three days and they had only one hot meal a day. After the parade they will go back to North Carolina by truck—on sandwiches and an orange.—*From* PM.

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of the New Republic. *Please enclose the original clipping.*—THE EDITORS

Correspondence

Oil, Blood and Ickes

SIR: The article in your December 17 issue, "Oil, Blood and Sand," proves once more that apparently no one can write on the subject of oil and be fair and factual about it.

The article says, "Secretary Ickes himself stated that this agreement [the Anglo-American Oil Agreement] was designed to deal primarily with the Middle East oil problem." Of course it was, but that gives no warrant for language that is apparently intended to constitute a finger of suspicion. It is also true that Ralph K. Davies, as Deputy Petroleum Administrator for War, assisted in negotiating this agreement. Ralph K. Davies was not even a member of the Board of Directors of Standard of California during the period of some three years antedating the negotiation of the Agreement.

But in my view it would not have mattered if he had been. We did not negotiate or attempt to negotiate any new rights for the Arabian-American Oil Company. Our intention, if we could bring it about, was to agree with the British on certain principles affecting not only the Middle East but the world that would do away with certain practices that had been of disadvantage to American oil companies generally. So if Ralph K. Davies was guilty of assisting in negotiating the Anglo-American Oil Agreement I was even more guilty, because in every particular the final decision rested with me and no one has yet been able to point at any personal connection of mine with any oil interest.

Neither is it true that "James Terry Duce . . . had almost plenipotentiary powers over foreign oil operations." Of course it isn't precisely clear what this language is intended to mean, but it certainly is far from the truth if its import is that Mr. Duce was in a position to vary or increase the respective rights and interests of American oil companies with respect to their holdings or prospective holdings in foreign countries. The interest of the PAW in foreign oil was to see to it that, so far as possible, foreign oil be brought to bear upon the war so as to relieve the very heavy drain upon our own petroleum resources. I don't know anything about Lieutenant Colonel Eugene T. Kavanaugh or his duties during the war. I do know that Max W. Thornburg was only temporarily Petroleum Adviser of the State Department. In any event, neither was chargeable to the PAW.

The author of the article is apparently abysmally ignorant about the proposed pipeline in the Middle East and the underlying purpose of its proposal. In his comment upon this pipeline, the word "Standard" is used so loosely that I cannot comment upon it without an extensive discussion that is not warranted in the circumstances. I will say for Mr. Inge Kaiser that at times he comes so close to evidencing a grasp of the Middle Eastern oil situation that it is too bad he neglected really to inform himself. And even the *New Republic*, as I have discovered, is no market for wares unless they are critical even at the expense of straining at the facts and swallowing a Munchausen tale. Take, for instance, this general sentence, "A firm policy for Palestine combined with a firm policy for oil, carried out not by Standard's agents, but by responsible top executives, is the only method of proving Ibn Saud wrong." This language, in conjunction with other expressions in the article, shows that Mr. Kaiser in large measure not only did not know what he was writing about; he apparently had not even read the draft of the Agreement. If he had, he didn't understand it, and apparently he carefully refrained from seeking light in responsible quarters, thus once again showing responsiveness to *New Republic* technique.

HAROLD L. ICKES,
Washington, D. C. Secretary of the Interior

SIR: Mr. Ickes says, "apparently no one can write on the subject of oil and be fair and factual about it." This uncomfortable truth applies even to Mr. Ickes.

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To take up only one point. In *Moody's* of 1945, Ralph K. Davies is listed as vice-president of Standard Oil of California, which is all we said of him.

The readers of the *New Republic* are fortunate indeed that Mr. Ickes has overlooked the biographical footnote which indicates the sex of the writer. Had he discovered that the article was written by a member of the "weaker sex," chivalry might have prevented him from writing in his usual style, which has earned him the admiration of so many, including the writer of this reply.

Chicago, Ill. (Miss) INGE KAISER

Economic Controls Against Scarcity

SIR: Advocates of a progressive economy are in serious default with regard to measures and program. And how this is so and why it is so deserves attention. Notwithstanding the tremendous circumstantial importance of the indomitable fight being made by Chester Bowles, price control lacks the validity, as a peacetime device, that it had as a war measure.

Shortages resulting from unavoidable non-production in a war economy are essentially different from pseudo-shortages of obstructed distribution or *willful* non-production. *Price* control is at a tremendous disadvantage because it deals with effect instead of cause. A price ceiling on a commodity does not prevent the accumulation of that commodity in storage while battle is being waged against it. A price ceiling on a factory product does not keep the manufacturers from waiting for the abolition of price control.

In the effect upon the consumer market there is no difference between a trade-wide withholding of a commodity and a conspiracy to corner the supply. Seemingly it should follow that it is as logical for the government to intervene in the one instance as in the other. An Economic Administration empowered to deal with fundamental causes would constitute the most logical answer to the rugged individualists who are bent on getting rid of the OPA. Common welfare demands such an authority to check on supply and distribution and to break artificial scarcities.

Until the advocates of a sound, stable economy adopt fundamental positions, they will continue to wage a rear-guard, losing fight. They should know that the best defense is a good offense, and act accordingly.

Ridgefield Park, N. J. EMORY L. KING

Aid to Europe

SIR: In challenging our reluctant Administration to greater action on the problem of European relief, you have my heartiest support. At the same time, viewing the disastrous limitations on the only food supplies yet committed to Europe, I do not think I am alone in feeling an impelling individual responsibility to send food to Europe, even on an individual basis. Working with a committee of Quakers, a number of us are undertaking the support of families throughout Europe whose need and responsibility has been certified by the Quakers. Reports from overseas tell us how much even these families are sharing what we can send. We are preparing to do the same thing inside Germany as soon as it is permitted.

We who have been able to join the Friends in this work consider it a privilege to serve not only our fellow men but our deepest responsibility to ourselves. We feel the need to demonstrate that this has not been a war for any selfish national end, but has in reality been a war to eradicate evils which men of good will could no longer tolerate. . . .

I think long experience has taught Americans what all the world knows, that they can trust the Quaker spirit of work. Considering the tiny amount we can do at the best, Quaker awareness of the need to extend the wider meaning of each contribution far beyond the particular recipient is the best way I have discovered to implement the compassion with which all Americans are imbued. This is not the least expensive way to ship food, but now, in the teeth of this desperate winter, it is the only way we know and the quickest.

I am writing as an outsider but as an enthusiastic supporter of the Subcommittee on Food Parcels to Europe, an agency of the New York Monthly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends. The Subcommittee meets and does business at Studio 316 at 96 Fifth Avenue, New York 11.

West Redding, Conn. ROBERT S. BART

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Marine Corporal Dewey Danielson, a former Japanese prisoner of war, writes from a naval hospital in Norman, Oklahoma, that "I probably owe my life to the atomic bomb," and says that he is both personally grateful for it and concerned about the future of atomic energy. Corporal Danielson believes that "control of atomic energy by individual sovereign governments will only lead to world catastrophe," that UNO is too limited by its charter and that confederations ("limited world government") have been less successful than sovereign states. He believes that "an unqualified world government . . . must be substituted now for the preservation of our world and its culture."

Corporal John C. Westen Jr., stationed at Kearney, Nebraska, points out that national sovereignty cannot be turned off "like a water faucet," since "sovereignty and . . . imperialism are requisite to capitalist economy." Corporal Weston thinks that UNO may "curtail the most obviously disastrous aspects of sovereignty," and hopes that the "economic planetary swing toward the Left is rapid enough. . . ."

Mrs. Doris E. Hulse of Washington, D. C., believes that world government is possible now; she points to the fact that we have different kinds of economic organizations side by side in our own and other countries; she also suggests the possibility of weighting representation in a world government by factors other than population.

Victor S. Yarros of La Jolla, California, however, feels that the nations are not yet prepared to transfer sovereignty to a world government and that, until they are, we must choose between "UNO or Chaos."

Alfred Hunt Uhalt of Jackson, Mississippi, says that peace is less dependent on political organization than on the distribution of economic necessities. He feels that the money-systems, because they are subject to manipulation and speculation, hinder fair distribution, and suggests "a more stable unit of purchasing power" as a substitute, possibly "energy-value."

Mrs. Viola F. Mueller of Manitowoc, Wisconsin, disagrees with Julian Huxley's rejection of finalism in nature ("Chance and Anti-Chance in Evolution," the *New Republic*, December 10). She says that "natural selection does not accomplish evolution, merely minor variation," and that significant changes in plants and animals have always been planned and controlled by intelligence. Mrs. Mueller does not believe that the evolution of man could have been the result of chance, and prefers to consider it the outcome of "a great intelligence working with a purpose."

Our New York readers may wish to attend a public mock trial of the New York *Daily News* columnist John O'Donnell and Joseph Patterson, editor and publisher of the *News*. It is being sponsored by the Veterans' Committee Against Discrimination and will be held on January 24 at the Hunter College Assembly Hall.

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Books in Review

Isherwood and Waugh to Date

THE AGE OF MIRACLES is apparently not yet at an end, for it is surely a minor miracle that the acquired Vedantism and Roman Catholicism of Christopher Isherwood and Evelyn Waugh, respectively, have not made irremediable inroads upon their talents. For if it is true that the greatest fiction is in a final sense philosophical, dogma has usually played the devil with the novelist. Tolstoy's is but the most important and the most extreme case; paralysis of talent or its perversion has been the rule.

On the evidence of *Prater Violet*,[1] Isherwood the artist is as yet unscathed by Isherwood the believer. This brief account of his experience in a British film studio in the early thirties is in structure, in tone and in observation similar to the pieces that made up *Goodbye to Berlin* (1939). The same ears, eyes, heart and mind are at work—selecting, editing, recording, transforming into the iron of art the apparently meaningless biography and history of a ridiculous movie, the Reichstag trials and the massacre of the Vienna Socialists. In Bergmann, the European director who comes to London to make an only too believable musical romance of pre-1914 Vienna and is rewarded by an invitation to Hollywood, Isherwood adds another grotesquely heroic human being to his Mr. Norris *(The Last of Mr. Norris)*, his Sally Bowles, his Nowaks and Landauers, his "Christopher Isherwood" *(Goodbye to Berlin)*.[2] And although some have speculated rather recklessly on the possible symbolism of *Prater Violet*, it is safe to assume that the microcosm of the film studio, like Fraulein Schroeder's lodging house and the sanatorium of *Goodbye to Berlin*, holds but does not confine the essential meaning of those years which were sweeping his characters into exile, hunger, war and death. And in one admirable passage (which has been already quoted by reviewers and will bear the endless repetition it is sure to receive) Isherwood has ranged back to a supposedly more barbarous age for a counterpart of our "civilization":

> BERGMANN: ". . . The film studio of today is really the palace of the sixteenth century. There one sees what Shakespeare saw: the absolute power of the tyrant, the courtiers, the flatterers, the jesters, the cunningly ambitious intriguers. There are fantastically beautiful women, there are incompetent favorites. There are great men who are suddenly disgraced. There is the most insane extravagance, and unexpected parsimony over a few pence. There is enormous splendor, which is a sham; and also horrible squalor hidden behind the scenery. There are vast schemes, abandoned because of some caprice. There are secrets which everybody knows and no one speaks of. There are even two or three honest advisers. These are the court fools, who speak the deepest wisdom in puns, lest they should be taken seriously. They grimace, and tear their hair privately, and weep."
>
> "You make it sound great fun."
>
> "It is unspeakable," said Bergmann, with relish.

It is only in the final pages—appropriately enough—of *Prater Violet* that Isherwood attempts to append a coda or to draw a moral. Almost abruptly, but not without meaning after the bewildering experience of Bergmann and the studio, he asks himself the basic, primitive and essential questions of philosophy: What makes you go on living? and What is this fear I fear but the fear of fear itself? That they are not answered adequately in a few pages, or that it is not the business of the artist to answer them at all, goes without saying, but we are provided perhaps with the clue to the Isherwood who is at the same time a Hollywood scenarist and the translator of the Bhagavad-Gita. Ironically, for about ten years ago in "Sally Bowles" he wrote, "With a flash of vision, I saw myself ten years hence, in flannels and black and white shoes, gone heavier around the jowl and a bit glassy, pouring out a drink in the lounge of a California hotel."

Waugh's talent which manifested itself in two books—*Decline and Fall* and *A Handful of Dust*—that are at least minor masterpieces of English fiction, has had less success in withstanding the ravages of ideology. It is hardly a surprise, since in *Scoop* (1938) a kind of racial cheapness was evident and in *Put Out More Flags* (1942) a reactionary political bias muddied the clear springs of his earlier satire and blunted the edge of his wit and his vision. In *Brideshead Revisited*[3] Waugh's politics and religion are for the first time aggressively explicit.

There is always the danger that one who disagrees violently with Waugh's Churchillian Toryism and rigid Romanism may be mistaken in finding in them the source of the shortcomings of this book. Certainly a measure of its ultimate weakness is technical in origin; for almost the first time in his work there are carelessly written passages and abrupt shifts of focus. Of greater importance, almost none of the characters are conceived or developed in the round. This latter fact was of less consequence in the earlier books—indeed it might well have detracted from their total effect—but in *Brideshead Revisited* we are ostensibly on new terrain. A relatively long book—it is half again as long as any of his earlier novels—it covers the entire period between the two wars and, while primarily a family chronicle, is also a picture of a class and a way of life in social and moral crisis.

Subtitled "The Sacred and Profane Memories of Captain Charles Ryder" and written by that character in the first person, *Brideshead Revisited* introduces us to Sebastian Flyte and the Oxford of the early twenties. (A friend who should know says that this section of the novel is a brilliant recollection of that university in those years.) Through Sebastian, Ryder is introduced to his wealthy Roman Cath-

[1] Prater Violet, by Christopher Isherwood. New York: Random House. 128 pages. $2.

[2] *The Last of Mr. Norris* and *Goodbye to Berlin* have been published recently in one volume under the title of *The Berlin Stories* (New Directions, $3.50).

[3] Brideshead Revisited, by Evelyn Waugh. Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 351 pages. $2.50.

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olic, county family, the Marchmains, and to Brideshead, their ancestral home. Lady Marchmain's piety has already driven her husband to Italy and a sympathetic mistress. The elder son is a priggish dolt, but pious. Equally pious is the younger sister, who is to grow up homely and unwed, devoted to good works which include nursing during the Spanish civil war, apparently on Franco's side. Sebastian gradually drifts out of the story, a helpless drunkard but firm in the faith. His sister Julia takes his place in the center of the stage with Ryder, who has become a successful painter (of stately British homes and South American jungles). The climax comes in the last years of the peace. Lord Marchmain returns from Venice to die and in the last act of life returns to the Church. This so moves Julia, who has entered into a liaison with Ryder and is planning to divorce her husband in order to marry him, that she renounces Ryder ("I saw today there was one thing unforgivable . . . the bad thing I was on the point of doing, that I'm not quite bad enough to do; to set up a rival good to God's. . . . If I give up this one thing I want so much, however bad I am, He won't quite despair of me in the end").

This kind of thinking—adultery is bad but divorce is positive evil—is to me a little disgusting, and Ryder-Waugh's repulsion at the rise of the lower orders is silly, if not vicious. But the most hardened enemy of Waugh's religion and politics will hardly deny the enormous talent at work in the major portion of *Brideshead Revisited*. Which brings us to the point that Isherwood's biography, if not his fiction, has already raised. One of the most disturbing factors in the rise of the new unreason is the adherence it has won from many of the most distinguished living writers—from Eliot, Auden, Huxley, Isherwood and Waugh among the English alone. However passionately one may desire to counter their philosophies or, with Eliot and Waugh, their politics, the achievement of *Four Quartets*, *For the Time Being* and the fiction of Waugh and Isherwood remains to challenge the proponent of an esthetic consistent with the socialism and materialism that for so many of us seem the most fruitful means and ends of the human condition.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Awake to What?

Reveille for Radicals, by Saul D. Alinsky. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 228 pages. $2.50.

MANY recent writers have recognized the fact that the individual life experience in our industrial nation does not emotionally sustain or nourish the average American in a dignified, purposeful or enriching manner. Perhaps this has been best stated by Richard Wright, who said:

> It can now be known that a native white man, the end product of all our strivings, educated, healthy, apparently mentally normal, having the stability of a wife and family, possessing the security of a good job with high wages, enjoying more freedom than any other country on earth accords its citizens, but devoid of the most elementary satisfactions, will seize upon an adolescent, zoot-suited Mexican and derive deep feelings of pleasure from stomping his hopeless guts out upon the pavements of Los Angeles. But to know that a seemingly normal individual American is capable of such brutality implies making a judgment upon the nature and quality of our everyday American experiences, which most Americans simply cannot do. For, to admit that our individual experiences are so low in quality and nature as to preclude the deep, organic satisfactions necessary for civilized, peaceful living, is to condemn the system that provides those experiences.

This deep and relevant truth Mr. Alinsky has stated in *Reveille for Radicals*. In speaking of the experiences of local leaders when allowed to plan for themselves, he says: "This experience was to the local leadership one of the most vivid demonstrations of the emotional starvation of our people for a place in America, for participation, that they had ever experienced."

Mr. Alinsky certainly states the question of our time. But, having stated it, he is unconvincing in his concrete proposal as to how people are to be organized for and by the dream of the future.

The contents of this book fall into two categories: first, a sermon on "radicals" and "democracy," as the author pleases to define these terms; and second, propositions (all sociological truisms) about, and anecdotes illustrating, organizational tactics found effective in building "people's movements." The relationship between the two is that presumably all the "radicals" who believe in "democracy" will devote themselves to building "people's movements."

The statements about democracy exhibit anything but originality; on the whole, the discussion is distressingly naïve. The author fervently makes the point that there is much prattling about democracy in this country but few social and economic organizations that could be described as democratic in any meaningful sense. In this connection, class, ethnic, religious and racial prejudices of large sections of the population are particularly condemned. Democracy, then, it seems to him, is simply believing that everyone is "just as good as you are." The fundamental problem of how much democracy you can have without equality, the related problem of the significance of different and conflicting value systems, are not recognized. Democracy is defined as the participation of all the people in the solution of their own problems.

To believe in democracy, according to the author, is to be a "radical." The difference between liberals and radicals is that liberals like people with their heads, radicals like people with their hearts and heads. (Radicals like everyone, he states at one point.) To continue with his descriptive but not analytical picture of the difference between liberals and radicals: liberals talk, radicals act; liberals delay, radicals build a new world, etc. The author chooses to ignore the fact that many people who call themselves liberal act in the same way as do radicals, accepting Mr. Alinsky's criteria. The author in general seems to mean by "revolution," orderly change, which is certainly the objective of liberals, radicals, trade-unionists and some New Deal Democrats.

The further the discussion proceeds, the more confusing it becomes. The hope of the contemporary radical is the labor movement. But the author is extremely critical of the labor movement because it is dependent on and assumes the present economic order. But, having so criticized the labor movement, Mr. Alinsky assures us that the fault is not with all of organized labor but only that the reactionary leadership is the "bridge of monopoly capitalism." From this

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criticism one might infer that the author seeks a socialist society, but if he does, he is careful not to say so. Indeed, the next and more extensive criticism of the labor movement is that unions are selfish and concerned only with the interests of their members and not with the welfare of the whole people. The conclusion: the hope of organized labor rests in an organized, ever fighting American people, and not in labor unions.

Rather than socialism, the "people's movement" of Mr. Alinsky's radicals sounds more like a move in the direction of the corporate state—in form, and perhaps in spirit. This is said in a descriptive rather than a derogatory sense. It is shown not only in Mr. Alinsky's ideological statements but also in the account given in the book of how a "people's movement" actually works. One must recognize, however, that there is one difference between a corporate state and the author's conception. In the former, force is employed to subordinate conflicting power groups to the welfare of the whole community. In the "people's movement," we are given to understand, conflicts of interest dissolve themselves when people come to know each other as human beings, through participation in the movement. This "knowing each other" need not even be the result of direct contact. Thus, in one situation described by Mr. Alinsky, a people's-organization leader needed only to tell a certain preacher that a labor leader whom the preacher hated as an atheistic Communist, thought highly of him; then, the labor leader, who despised the preacher, needed only to be told that the preacher had much respect for him, in order to bring these two together and ultimately effect a profound change in the attitudes of the two men toward organized labor and organized religion. The author believes once you get all the businessmen, gangsters, labor leaders, housewives, preachers and criminals into a people's organization, because they know each other as human beings, they will work for the interests of all people. The people's organization is described as a "conflict group," but its program—campaigns for garbage removal and better housing, reducing juvenile delinquency and promoting hot-lunch programs, attempting to raise the standard of living, siding with strikers when they are "right," teaching ignorant mothers to feed their children orange juice—is one in which radicals, liberals and even enlightened conservatives have often worked together with little difficulty.

The chief claim to distinction of the people's organizations would seem to be that in the communities where they function all of the people participate. However, there is in the book no indication of how many people's organizations there are, where they are located or the extent of their membership. Until we are given these facts, it will be fairly hard to assay the value and importance of this particular sort of social organization. In the meantime the author, in this volume, has uttered a great many "platitudes in a stained-glass attitude," has given us political analysis on a Norman Corwin-Earl Robinson level, but has contributed no suggestion for the creation of significant forms of living for the great number of our restive and unhappy American citizenry.

The writing is undistinguished and at times lacking in restraint. For example: "The haves smell toilet-water, the have-nots smell just plain toilet." Or something as trite as this: "Time need not be wasted on conservatives, since time itself will take care of them."

The book is important not because, as the publisher's blurb states, it is a "blow-by-blow account of an orderly revolution already under way," but because it expresses a point of view which runs the risk of developing *away* from the democracy that the author speaks of with such fervor.

HORACE R. CAYTON

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The End of Two Worlds

Twilight on the Danube, by F. C. Weiskopf. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 433 pages. $3.
Arch of Triumph, by Erich Maria Remarque. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 455 pages. $3.

THROUGHOUT each of these novels world history plays the accompanying music of foreordained doom. The assassination of the Archduke Franz Ferdinand means the end of one world—the easy-going, pleasantly disorganized civilization of which Weiskopf's hero, the liberal newspaper publisher Alexander Reither, is an intrinsic part. At the outbreak of World War II, Remarque's protagonist, Dr. Ravic, is carried off to a French concentration camp—which, he hopes, will be more pleasant than the German one from which he has escaped—while the darkness of inevitable defeat falls over Paris. The last chapters of both books are effectively instrumented by history. Yet although they are competently written, carefully thought out and lovingly put together, they leave the reader with a feeling of incompleteness and unfulfilment.

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Weiskopf seems to have fallen victim to the qualities of his favorite characters. They are graceful, uncertain and interested in too many things at once. Some of this has managed to seep into the build and climate of his novel. Outwardly, it is a long love story combined with the chronicle of a wealthy Prague family, set against the familiar background of the slowly disintegrating Austrian monarchy. Alexander Reither, one of the most youthful grandfathers in modern fiction, falls in love with a beautiful woman whom he has met on a train. She surrenders—too fast, one can't help thinking—they are united, separated and united again. Yet, at the end, he knows that he will lose her because she is as adventurous as he was in his youth. The only member of his large, Forsytian family who approves of grandpa's last love is Weiskopf's favorite figure, seventeen-year-old Wally, who is as charming as any girl in a Schnitzler novel but less complicated and much less inhibited. She, too, has an affair of which no good can come, and in the end goes back to her shady though masterful Balkan double-dealer. In between there are political discussions, chapters on labor problems, a nicely handled family scandal and a noteworthy satire on Austrian army maneuvers. As in most rambling family sagas, too many people are doing too many things. The book lacks a focal point, or rather, a central story. Some scenes, of course, are vividly drawn; some figures, particularly the Czech workers, show that Weiskopf hasn't lost his gift for characterization, and there are some touches of wholesome humor. Perhaps the novel remains unsatisfactory because the doings of the family amount to so little; perhaps it was unfortunate to have so many of the figures given over to erotic pursuits. I suspect also that Weiskopf's original text was not so dry as it now appears. It may well be that the author of the powerful *Firing Squad* needs another theme to show what he can really do.

Remarque's prose (in the excellent translation of Walter Sorell and Denver Lindley) never gives the impression of dryness. It is a lyrical prose, abounding in beautiful similes, given to unexpected flights, and much more interesting than the story it tells. In the beginning, the novel scarcely has a plot: it is a tone-poem of despair, a symphony of defeat, melancholy and alcohol. Ravic, who clandestinely does surgical operations for a tottering French celebrity who cheerfully underpays the *sale réfugié*, drifts into a love affair with Joan Madou, an unfathomable and rather unscrupulous woman, and they love and torture each other for a long, long time. The first half of the book is an almost unrelieved semi-nightmare of sadness, sex and philosophical discussions which are Russian in flavor. At the end there are drinks, in this case Calvados, the powerful apple brandy of which nobody ever seems to tire. In the middle of the book, the real action begins, and from here on Remarque gets a firm grip on his novel and his characters. The real story is Ravic's revenge on Haake, a Gestapo agent who tortured him for days in a cell in Berlin, and whom he kills and buries without ever being found out. These scenes are superb. They are so superior to the first half that the basic fault of the novel becomes apparent: Remarque got to his plot proper too late. He used up too much space to establish the morbid atmosphere of Paris, to give a panorama of the exiles at the "Hotel International" and their desperate

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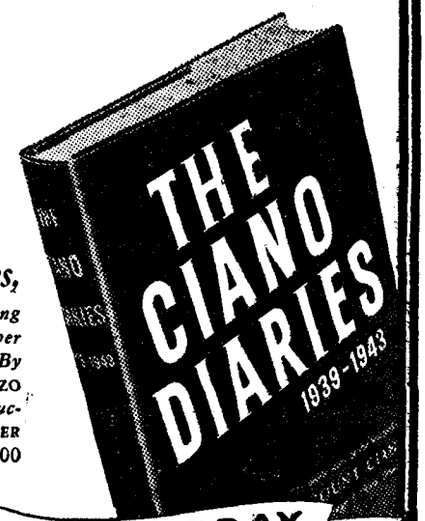

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struggles with papers, visas, policemen and their own gnawing anxieties.

Strangely enough, the daytime scenes—Ravic's activities in the hospital, the happenings at the hotel, the medical examinations at the incredibly bourgeois brothel of Madame Rolande—immediately come to life. The night scenes, which are in the majority, are repetitious and almost indistinguishable from one another. Remarque's exclusive interest in Ravic deprives his canvas of richness, which is the more distressing because the minor characters are very much alive and, after a few sentences, are firmly established in the reader's mind.

Once one accepts the almost Chekhovian defeatism of Ravic and nearly all the minor characters (even the American girl, who has none of the troubles of the refugees, is doomed by an inoperable cancer), one must admit that Remarque admirably sustains this note of unrelieved anguish. It is as if he had doggedly written the whole book in a single minor key. The humorous episodes at Madame Rolande's establishment, written in the best Maupassant tradition, are no exception. Because of this monotony of style, and because of the late start of the main plot, the book is not easy to read. Yet Remarque's novel (it is the February Book-of-the-Month-Club selection) has something to say about the homeless and the exiled which we here are only too willing to forget. It depicts a world which, to us in America, seems alien in its wretchedness and passive acceptance of the onrushing apocalypse, but which is probably more like ours than we care to know.

RICHARD PLANT

Grubstaking for Trade

Tomorrow's Trade: Problems of Our Foreign Commerce, by Stuart Chase. New York: The Twentieth Century Fund. 156 pages. $1.
International Investment and Domestic Welfare, by Norman S. Buchanan. New York: Henry Holt and Company. 249 pages. $2.75.
National Power and the Structure of Foreign Trade, by Albert O. Hirschman. Berkeley: The University of California Press. 170 pages. $3.

IN THE SPRING OF 1946 an International Trade Organization will be created to replace the archaic system of automatic free trade. That system was in its time a grand Utopia supported by the strength of the British navy. With the decline of Britain's power, however, nations were only too happy to dispense with the rigorous obligations imposed by a rational economic order. Deliberate manipulation was substituted for free trade and a frantic competitive spirit possessed everyone. Today, economic harmony must supersede economic rivalry; to accomplish this will be ITO's primary task. Yet harmonious trade relations cannot be attained automatically: we shall have to construct new international controls, and that is a staggering job.

The background for these problems is presented with keen insight in these books. Mr. Chase admits that he is no expert in international trade, but his outline for the interested layman is an intelligent and effective guide. His tersely written review of prewar experience underscores the major questions that must be answered now. American prosperity, Mr. Chase urges, is a prerequisite for international stability, and dollar exchange must somehow be given to other nations.

Professor Buchanan discusses similar questions, but he stresses the real character of trade—the exchange of stuff for stuff—even more strongly than does Mr. Chase. Replete with incisive statistical analyses, Professor Buchanan's volume asserts that we must be extremely circumspect in our foreign-loan policy. His argument is not by any means isolationist; based upon a hard core of common sense, it suggests that the burden of loans will only recreate the recriminations of the twenties. Recent British reaction seems to substantiate this dire view.

Dr. Hirschman's book, more theoretical than the others, investigates the structure of foreign trade and discovers the traditional interpretation to be entirely incorrect. We have hitherto believed that raw materials were exchanged for manufactured goods. This flow, Dr. Hirschman shows, is but a small stream; the important exchanges are raw materials for raw materials and manufactures for manufactures. The implications of this pattern for trade policy are indeed significant.

Yet basic to all international trade problems is American prosperity. As both Mr. Chase and Professor Buchanan show, our participation in foreign trade, though small in relation to national income, looms large for the rest of the world. A small increase in our imports visibly improves the living standards of our vendors. And our foreign trade is determined ultimately by domestic economic activity.

Professor Buchanan, however, is deeply concerned with the deflationary impact of incoming goods. Textiles and agriculture especially would be unfavorably affected by imports. But without our purchases how shall other nations obtain the dollar exchange they need? This is precisely the point at which Mr. Chase offers his suggestive approach. Let us begin with imports first, he says. Then let us sell in order to pay for what we receive. But this view, interesting as it is, overlooks the pressing need that other countries have for American goods; it hardly begins to solve the dollar-exchange problem.

This largely explains why loans were employed to give international purchasing power to our customers. It was a strange policy which tangled trade and made us the Uncle Shylock of European cartoonists. To avoid repetition of that bitter experience, says Professor Buchanan, we should recognize that the world needs "grubstaking": let us make gifts where gifts are necessary. And if we accept foreign goods, as indeed we must, let us take materials that can be stored—steel scrap, manganese, chrome. This, according to Professor Buchanan, would minimize the soporific effect of imports.

The trade problem, however, cannot be permanently solved by tariff manipulation, exchange controls or foreign loans. As Dr. Hirschman says, "As long as war remains a possibility and so long as the sovereign nation can interrupt trade with any country at its own will, the contest for more national power permeates trade relations, and foreign trade provides an opportunity for power which it will be tempting to seize." He shows how trade can be directed toward monopolistic advantage; how one country can impose an inflexible economy on others; how a commercial fifth

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column can repress industrialization; how bilateral trade gives political power. The outcome is usually war.

Both Dr. Hirschman and Mr. Chase agree that international trade must be controlled; they also agree that commercial aggression cannot be eliminated so long as national sovereignty remains. In the nineteenth century Great Britain's political strength and commercial preeminence enforced a kind of economic world government. Today trade reconstruction is possible, says Dr. Hirschman, only "by a frontal attack upon the institution which is at the root of the possible use of economic relations for national power aims—the institution of national economic sovereignty." But that, of course, is no longer a simple matter of economics.

BEN B. SELIGMAN

A Reader's List

INFLATION AND THE AMERICAN ECONOMY, by Seymour E. Harris (McGraw-Hill, $5). Professor Harris' comprehensive study of our wartime economic experience is a work from which both scholar and layman can profit. It is in fact a major sourcebook on war and postwar problems. With more than 200 tables and charts providing a statistical framework, Professor Harris presents thoroughgoing analyses of resources, manpower, money and prices, taxes, wages and profits. An increase of $110 billion in national income, he says, enabled us to expand our consumption by $25 billion. Yet larger wartime incomes, he argues, are attributable to greater productivity and longer working hours, and not to higher wage rates. Fortunately, prices were successfully controlled. We were able to do this in spite of a huge expansion in money circulation because of increased saving and higher taxes. The main dangers now, he believes, are more likely to be deflationary. The hasty removal of all controls, now that employment and wages are declining, will perhaps accelerate downward movements. The strange anomaly of prosperous areas in juxtaposition with depressed towns is not impossible and clearly demands a bold and coördinated public policy.

HE BRINGS GREAT NEWS, by Clemence Dane (Random, $2.50). Miss Dane does not make a frontal charge upon history, but her minor sortie on one of its flanks is very effective. Lieutenant Lapenotiere of the British navy, commanding a fast ship, is ordered to bring the news of the victory of Trafalgar to England. The book is written with great skill and a kind of end-of-the-line lucidity common to so many modern English writers. A welcome change from Castilian and Nantucket captains in nifty costumes, blown hither and thither on Hollywood-tinted seas in high-pressure gales.

Crime and Punishment

THE UNSUSPECTED, by Charlotte Armstrong (Coward-McCann, $2.50). If 1946 takes its pace from Mrs. Armstrong, we're in for a year of superior crime fare. Luther Grandison, famous actor and national figure, has two marriageable wards—one an heiress, the other penniless—over whom he has complete ascendency. He also has a secretary, Rosaleen, whose sudden death in his home is explained as suicide. Rosaleen's fiancé, back from the war, isn't satisfied by this verdict, and his entry into the affairs of the Grandisons provides swift and exciting entertainment.

THE PAVILION, by Hilda Lawrence (Simon and Schuster, $2). Regan Carr, suddenly orphaned by her mother's death, accepts her beloved old cousin Hurst Herald's urgent invitation to make her home with him. She arrives to find Hurst in his coffin and an uneasy, brooding atmosphere pervading the great house. Hurst's wife and relatives give Regan the creeps and her mind is stubbornly drawn back to a previous visit, at the age of six, when things happened which she didn't understand at the time but which have left an elusive memory. How Regan is made to recall those almost forgotten moments in the pavilion, and thus bring a killer to justice, makes for a fascinating and haunting story in which Mrs. Lawrence more than fulfills the promise of her two earlier books.

E. H.

Contributors

WILLIAM POSTER is a free-lance writer now working on a critical history of the avant-garde. He has written for the *Herald Tribune*, the New York *Times* and the *New Republic*.

HORACE R. CAYTON, co-author, with St. Clair Drake, of *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, published last fall by Harcourt, Brace, is director of the Parkway Community House in Chicago. He is now at work on a comprehensive history of the Negro press.

RICHARD PLANT is the former book editor of *Tomorrow* magazine. He is now working on a novel for which he received the first Eugene F. Saxton fellowship for creative writing in 1945. He has contributed to *Theatre Arts*, the *Saturday Review of Literature*, *This Week*, the New York *Times Book Review* and the *New Yorker*.

BEN B. SELIGMAN, formerly a commodity analyst for the OPA, is the managing editor of *Labor and the Nation*, a new magazine. He has contributed articles and reviews to *Tomorrow* and *Commentary*.

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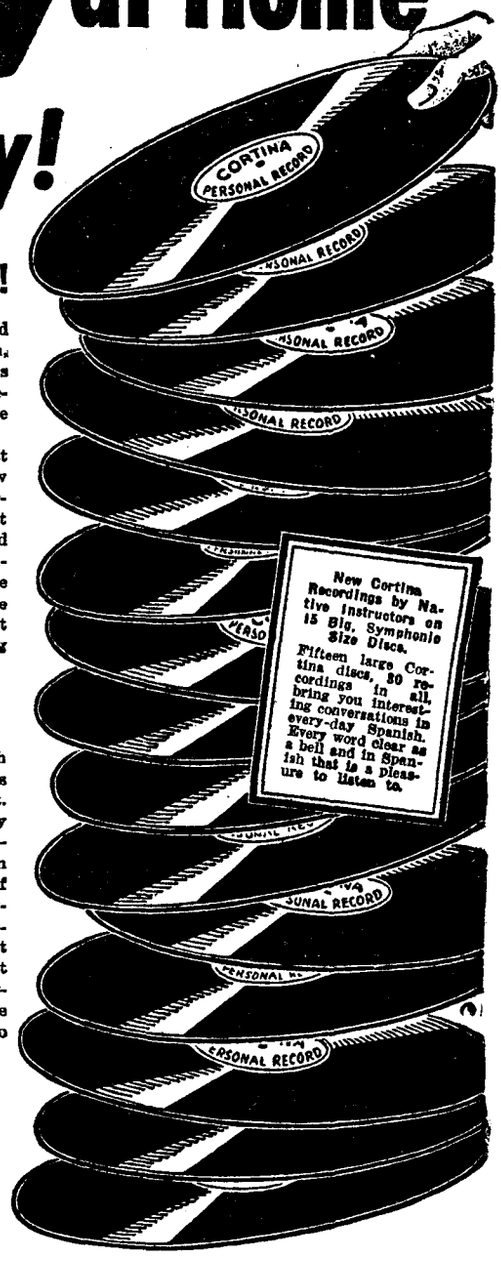
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